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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1773

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### GDR JOURNAL REVIEWS RCP CONGRESS, STRESSES ROMANIA-BLOC TIES

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 25 No 2, Feb 80 signed to press 3 Jan 80 pp 38-46

[Article by Dr Anton Latzo, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence, Potsdam-Babelsberg: "On the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party"]

[Text] The 12th RCP Congress was held in Bucharest from 19 to 24 November 1979. It drew its first interim balance-sheet since the 11th party congress in 1974 adopted the "RCP Program on Constructing the All-round Developed Socialist Society and Moving Romania Toward Communism." The Central Committee status report, presented by the party's General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, the discussion, the resolution and the other 12th party congress documents confirmed the basic positions contained in the party program on the domestic and foreign policy of the RCP and of the Socialist Republic of Romania and underscored the correctness of the ways and means pursued on its basis in translating the program into practice up to this point.

Paying tribute to the successes in the last 5 years, the party congress underscored that industry, agriculture and other branches have been placed on a modern foundation, the economic potential in all regions has been raised, the educational system, science and culture have been developed, the production relations and the organization of public life have been perfected, socialist democracy expanded, and the material and intellectual standard of living raised for all the people.

Tribute was paid to this development against the background of the 35th anniversary in 1979 of the country's liberation from fascism and of the start of democratic and socialist transformations in Romania. During this period, under RCP leadership, the power of the workers class in alliance with the other working people was established and the exploitation of man by man, eliminated. The means of production and all other resources of the country were transferred into the hands of the people which, on the basis of the socialist transformations became for the first time in its history the master of all its national resources and the results of its labor. A unified socialist economy was created as the material basis

and prerequisite for elevating the population's material and intellectual standard of living. That also gave rise to the decisive conditions for undertaking in Romania the construction of the developed socialist society in the same period as in the other fraternal socialist countries.

On 23 August 1944, on the basis of the gradual socioeconomic and political transformations, an entirely new phase in the country's foreign policy and foreign economic orientation was initiated. The objectively identical basic interests of the socialist countries, resulting from a common socioeconomic foundation and common goals, caused the development of fundamentally new relations between Romania and the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. Starting in 1947, the Socialist Republic of Romania concluded its first friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaties with the USSR and the other countries in the community. Romania is a founding member of CEMA and the Warsaw Pact. In the early 1970's, the second generation of friendship treaties between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the other fraternal countries were signed, which conform to the conditions and requirements in the period in which the developed socialist society is being constructed. Rich bilateral and multilateral cooperation developing along those lines demonstrates the fruitfulness and effectiveness of the close cooperation among the sovereign socialist states.

In tribute to the 35-year development of Romania, the 12th party congress resolution underscores "the extraordinary importance of the achievements made in the period initiated by the ninth party congress (1965)." It points out, among other things, that "the great successes achieved throughout the years of socialism in the development of the country's economic capacity are the outcome of the dedicated efforts of the workers class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, and all working people, regardless of nationality, are the outcome of the efforts of all the people adhering to, and unflinchingly implementing, the party's policy on the country's socioeconomic development and on lifting our nation onto a high level of material and intellectual civilization." In the assessment of the party congress, the results achieved "are an important contribution by Romania toward making the superiority of socialism prevail, boosting its influence in the world, and strengthening the forces of peace and worldwide progress."

#### Successes in Social Development

The 12th RCP Congress gave central attention to the issues of domestic Romanian development. The assessment of the Central Committee status report and of the party congress resolution was that during the last 5 years great successes have been achieved under RCP leadership in "insuring the harmonious progress of the fatherland."

As the result of the development of the productive forces, further changes have taken place in Romania in the period since the 11th party congress (1974) in the structure of society, the composition of the classes, and

the relations among them, directed at consolidating the unity between the workers class and the class of the cooperative farmers. In this context the Central Committee report further points out that thereby "the unity of all our people and the ever stronger cohesiveness of our socialist nation" is bolstered.

The party congress observed that in all the social and political life in Romania "the role and revolutionary conception of the workers class--the leading class of society" also continue to become more prevalent. In broadening its political and ideological level and its scientific and technical horizon, the workers class is fulfilling its historic mission in honors, leading all the people toward socialism and communism. In terms of numbers, the workers class increased from 1,222,900 in 1950 to 3,109,900 in 1965. At the start of the current five-year plan, in 1975, Romania had 4,993,800 workers. In late 1978, it had 5,585,100. That was roughly 54 percent of the total number of employed.

Important quantitative and qualitative changes have also taken place in the peasantry. Through the modernization of agriculture and the drifting of some of the manpower into industry and the building trade the proportion of persons working in agriculture has declined further. Their political, technical and cultural level has risen at the same time. In its alliance with the workers class, the peasantry occupies an important place in material production.

Grown also has the role and numerical strength of the intelligentsia (in connection with the country's industrial development, mainly that of the technical intelligentsia), which is called up to "make an important contribution to making Romanian thinking and creativity prevail, to the general progress of society."

The assessment of the party congress is that society in Romania is made up of friendly classes and strata among which a process of constant rapprochement is taking place with respect to working conditions, the specialized technical and cultural levels, and the material and intellectual way of life.

At the same time, socialist state and cooperative property has been further strengthened in Romania.

This development, which essentially conforms with the domestic situation in the other fraternal socialist countries, discloses that the consolidation of the socioeconomic foundations of developed socialist society is marked by objectively identical features which themselves form an essential foundation for the continuing development of comradely cooperation.

## Balance and Tasks of the National Economy

The major emphasis in the analysis of domestic development was placed on the results achieved in the economic field and the tasks derived from them as well as from difficulties that have arisen. A comparison between the estimates for our economic development between 1976 and 1980 with the quotas set down in the directives of the last party congress yields a surpassing of our quotas for the main parameters. The party congress made a special point of our industrial output which by the end of the current five-year plan will be 70 percent higher in volume than it was in 1975. Higher than the average annual increase of 11 percent for industrial production on the whole was the development in machine building, with 13 percent, and of the chemical industry, with 14 percent, so that the proportion of these two branches in overall Romanian production will go up from 42 percent in 1975 to 47 percent. The volume of the consumer goods industry also is expected to exceed in 1980 that of 1975 by 60 percent, through which consumer needs will be better supplied on the basis of a broader palette of commodities. The remarkable industrial development of Romania is also attested to by the intention of having the products that were newly introduced or further developed in the 1976-1980 production cycle make up 44 percent of the value of industrial production in 1980.

Proceeding from such results and developmental trends, the 12th party congress reached the conclusion that Romania now has a modern industry which is equipped with modern means of production, can solve complex problems of technical progress today, and assure all branches of highly efficient machinery and equipment. Right now, industry produces 60 percent of the country's national income. It meets 75 percent of the requirements the economy has in machinery and equipment.

Investment activity has reached a high volume. In the current five-year plan it amounts to approximately 970 billion lei, as much as the three preceding five-year plans together. Up to 60 percent of the basic economic production fund was created within the last 10 years and at present amounts to circa 1,800 billion lei.

The efforts for improving our efficiency are reflected, as the report says, by that the national income is developing somewhat faster than the GNP. Material costs will go down in the next five-year period by 4.7 percent and overall production costs by 7.3 percent.

The status report at the same time also pointed out that the results achieved give us no ground for self-satisfaction and that the deficiencies, difficulties and even mistakes made must not be forgotten for a moment. It is pointed out in this connection that we are lagging behind the plan in meeting important production tasks, for instance in mining and petroleum extraction, in metallurgy and machine building, in placing investments, in material-technical supplies and agricultural production, and in boosting our economic efficiency and meeting our foreign trade plan.



At the party congress it was emphasized that with the adoption of the directives for the 1981-1985 period the tasks have been set for an important phase in the implementation of the party program aiming at advancing us beyond the stage of being a socialist developing country in that we shall now become a socialist country on a medium level of development.

The main goal for the future five-year plan as referred to in the party congress resolution is the following:

"Continuing the fulfillment of the party program at a higher level, economic growth at a permanently high tempo, a resolute implementation of the technical-scientific revolution in all domains, and a transition to a new quality in all our socioeconomic activity. This assures a stronger consolidation of the socialist mode of production, a higher level of education for our population in toto, the consolidation of the material and intellectual strength of all the people, and the independence and sovereignty of Romania."

Proceeding from this basic target, the idea is to insure the proportionate and harmonious growth of industry and agriculture and all branches of the economy and an optimum equilibrium among the various domains to satisfy increasingly better the requirements of social development and the steady rise in the material and intellectual standard of living of the population.

For realizing these tasks, investments of between 1,300 and 1,350 billion lei have been set aside up to 1985. The rate of accumulation is expected to lie around 30 percent, compared with 34 percent for the 1976-1980 five-year plan.

Major areas of investment activity are insuring our energy and raw material base, and the priority development of top technical branches like the production of nuclear power plants, electronics, aircraft construction and precision mechanics/optics. A high proportion of the investments will be allocated to the development of our transportation system and of the material-technical base of our agriculture (11.5 percent). An emphasis has been placed on the task of continuing, through the 1981-1985 period, the process of restructuring industry through placing priorities on the growth of those branches that have a high processing capacity and on the manufacture of products high in technical value and low in energy consumption.

Machine building will continue to be the most dynamic branch and will go through an above-average development at a 12 percent growth rate. With petroleum resources remaining unchanged, on the level of 1980, chemical production, through a better utilization of energy, is to be boosted by an average of 10 percent.

In the field of agriculture, the party congress has called for a "penetrating agrarian revolution." That means a boost in the development of the agricultural productive forces, compared with the current five-year plan. To that end, the material-technical base is to be significantly expanded, the livestock feed problem is to be solved, and the use of chemicals in agriculture is to be accelerated. High targets were assigned for both animal and crop production. Meat production is to be increased by 58 percent, milk production, by 20 percent. The party congress decided to raise investment means for agriculture by 22 billion lei over and above the draft directive to a total of 155 billion lei.

#### Results and Projects in Social Policy

The report pays great attention to the matters of social policy. The judgment was that the tasks issued by the 11th party congress on elevating the standard of living have been fulfilled or even exceeded in the current five-year plan with regard to their chief parameters.

Average real wages will be from 30 to 32 percent higher in 1980 than 1975, though the directives originally only called for an 18 to 20 percent rise. The real income of the peasantry in the same period went up by 30 percent. Pensions are going up an average of 23 percent, as the plan had stipulated.

The report's estimate is that up to 1980 a total of 900,000 new dwelling units will be built. The plan had earmarked more than one million. The difference is to be made up within the next five-year plan.

Developmental goals for the 1981-1985 period in the field of social policy are more or less in line with the ones in the current five-year plan. The focal point lies in further increasing the population's real income and housing construction. Overall revenues of the population are expected to increase by 23 to 25 percent in the 1981-1985 period, which will increase the average real wages by 16 to 18 percent. With it, minimum wages are to go up from 1,425 lei in 1980 to 1,630 in 1985. To reduce the differences in the income of urban and rural workers, the plan is to boost the peasants' real income by 20 to 25 percent.

In housing construction, the 1981-1985 five-year plan calls for 1,100,000 dwelling units.

In extending the objective of introducing the 46-hour work week by 1980, the 12th party congress decided to enforce the 44-hour work week in all areas by 1985.

#### Development of Foreign Economic Relations

For the 1981-1985 period, the party congress focuses on a more active and effective participation by Romania in the international division of labor, on strengthening its cooperation in production, science and technology, on

assuring a well-balanced balance of payments and the consolidation of the country's foreign exchange reserves. Foreign trade turnover is to get an annual average growth rate of 8.5 to 9.5 percent. To insure the economically necessary imports, and especially for the redemption of obligations due and for a well-balanced structure of the payment balance, the party congress called for priority attention to exports. Imports, in turn, are to be limited to what is absolutely necessary.

The status report said that significantly boosting export effectiveness was the main problem of the next five-year plan in this area. Along with other branches of the economy, it is mainly those of machine building, metallurgy, the chemical industry, wood processing and light industry that must become more effective on the foreign markets through a more efficient utilization of their products.

The party congress emphatically called for considerably expanding economic and scientific-technical cooperation in order to meet the economy's demand for raw materials, over long range and under mutually advantageous conditions, and to develop our own machine building. It focused on the joint construction, management and use of industrial projects, the setting up of mixed corporations for the export of some products, and the joint realization of joint projects on third markets.

The party congress set as a task the continued development of economic relations with CEMA member countries and all socialist countries. The socialist states will continue to be given a circa 48-percent share in Romania's foreign trade. Romania will continue to work for the development of cooperation and the further improvement of CEMA activity on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual advantage, to bring about the blossoming of each economy.

Romania will continue to give special attention to the trade and production cooperation with the developing countries. The share those countries have in Romanian foreign trade is now roughly 19 percent and is to be increased to above 25 percent by 1985.

The party congress focused on further developing economic relations with the developed capitalist states. The point was made that Romania is developing its economic relations with all states in the world in the spirit of mutual benefit, complete equality, respect for independence and national sovereignty, and excluding any meddling with domestic affairs.

#### Romania's Foreign Policy

Among other things, the 12th RCP Congress has stressed that the course of international affairs, on which the socialist countries are exerting an important positive influence, demonstrates the growth of the influence and prestige of socialism in the world. By rigorously implementing the 11th party congress resolutions, the Central Committee report says, Romania has actively been participating in the struggle conducted on the international

level for solving the world's contemporary problems. An expression of the respect Romania enjoys in the world today is the fact that it maintains diplomatic and consular relations with 136 and economic relations with 140 states on all continents.

The RCP and the Socialist Republic of Romania, as the party congress emphasized, have unflinchingly placed in the center of their activities the steady development of friendship and multilateral cooperation relations with the socialist countries. A point was made in this connection about the many visits, meetings and contacts on party and government level "which have contributed to expanding Romania's multilateral cooperation with all socialist states."

Special emphasis is given here to relations with the socialist neighboring states.

"Consolidating the relations with our socialist neighboring states has top priority, and we are firmly resolved to do everything in the future for expanding the relations of good neighborliness, collaboration and solidarity with them."

"The special importance we attribute to the relations with our great neighbor, the Soviet Union, and with the CPSU" is underscored in this context. Reference also then is made to the relations with all European socialist states. Finally the point is made that Romania is working to expand its active cooperation with the socialist countries in Asia and Latin America. Solidarity with all those countries, it is said, constitutes an important factor in Romania's international policy.

As something especially important in Romania's foreign policy, there is a reference to its cooperation with the Warsaw Pact member states, their military defense cooperation against imperialist aggression, and their active cooperation for the purpose of making the policy of detente and peace prevail. Once again the party congress underlined that socialist Romania would meet all obligations assumed. It stressed that the interests of each socialist country and of the forces of socialism on the whole made it necessary to proceed resolutely toward increasing solidarity and the expansion of economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation among the socialist countries.

The status report emphasizes that relations with the developing countries have been greatly expanded since the 11th party congress. Romania is a member of the "Group of 77" and has intensified its collaboration and solidarity with the countries in that group in the struggle for eliminating underdevelopment and creating a new international economic order. At the same time, the report says, Romania, considering the fact that the world is divided into countries with differing social orders, will act in the spirit of peaceful coexistence and expand its economic, scientific-technical and cultural relations with the developed capitalist states.

Security and peace in Europe is called a goal of the highest importance in Romania's foreign policy. By that token, those current demands are considered of central importance that have to do with military detente and disarmament in Europe. The party congress here welcomes the proposal from the Soviet Union as submitted by L. I. Brezhnev in Berlin on the occasion of the 30th GDR anniversary. The status report sees in that proposal a positive measure which conforms with the basic interests and chief requirements of security in Europe and in the world.

At the same time the party congress gave expression to the hope that the NATO states would respond positively to the proposal from the socialist countries and deploy no further nuclear arms on the European continent and proceed, through coordination, toward actual arms reduction. It is being underscored that military detente and disarmament alone can turn European security into an irreversible process. Disarmament, above all nuclear disarmament, is seen in its fundamental importance for the progress and development of humanity. The priority task of our era is immediately ending the arms race. Underscoring the full validity of the various Romanian disarmament proposals, the conviction is expressed that disarmament is a complex and lengthy process and that partial measures do have a special importance. Such measures would help consolidate international confidence and gradually lead to general and complete disarmament.

The party congress expresses Romania's viewing the conclusion of SALT II between the Soviet Union and the United States as a positive factor toward developing the trust and creating the conditions for the future treatment of the basic disarmament issues.

As a socialist country, the party congress affirms, Romania, placing its entire policy on the ideals of peace and progress, will continue to struggle resolutely in the future for creating a world without weapons and without wars, a world of security and cooperation.

(All quotations cited refer to the Central Committee report on RCP activities in the period between the 11th and the 12th party congress and the future party tasks, in SCINTEIA, Bucharest, 20 November 1979, and to the 12th RCP Congress resolution, also in SCINTEIA, 24 November 1979).

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## PROVINCIAL PRESS ON ECONOMIC TRANSGRESSIONS

## Management Faulted for Losses

Hradec Kralove POCHODEN in Czech 14 Jan 80 p 4

[Text] At the present time, our society is attempting to conserve the maximum possible energy, materials and human labor. Attention is being directed especially at consumption during production. However, sometimes damage to already completed products, caused by irresponsible handling or warehousing within the trade network, or other circumstances, also increases, completely unnecessarily, the amount of these resources invested in a particular product. Society must then invest additional work, energy and materials in a product which could have already been in use. A monitoring operation conducted by workers of the Central Bohemian Regional Inspectorate of the Czech Commercial Inspection uncovered one of these cases of irresponsible treatment of social resources in eight retail stores of the Ol factory of the Furniture Sectoral Enterprise in the Central Bohemian Region. Of the 75 quality faults found on 68 examined furniture sets and individual pieces, 33 had been caused by mechanical damaging in the store or the warehouse.

For instance, almost all of the examined goods in a Kladno retail store bore the signs of wasteful treatment. But it was not always only a matter of a few nicks. For example, a Betina kitchen cabinet had a 15 square centimeter area of linoleum snipped out of its upper shelf, a divided cabinet had a hole in a side wall, a cabinet base had battered sides and a 50 by 50 centimeter spot decorated the back of an upholstered living room set.

It became clear from a check of the attached warehouse space of this sales outlet that the warehouse had broken windows and holes in the roof. Furniture not protected by coverings bore the signs of rain damage, in many instances veneer was curling or unglued due to moisture, and mold had attacked other pieces. In this warehouse apartment furniture was a value of Kcs 1,440,000 awaited customers in this condition. The inspectors could not even reach many pieces due to a high degree of disorderliness. Therefore they did not include the goods stored here in the given inspection,

but issued an immediate prohibition on its sale pending an overall verification of its quality.

It would probably be difficult for someone to compute the amount of labor effort, energy, fuel and materials required by the repair of damaged articles, to say nothing of the tens of thousands of crowns by which our society is impoverished by the compensation for this work or the discounts from the sale prices. It is also possible that products will be lacking, which could have come into being from these needlessly expended resources.

The parties guilty of all the above shortcomings have been identified and will clearly bear responsibility for them. However, was it necessary to wait until the arrival of Czech Commercial Inspection? Didn't the supervisory workers of Ol Prague regional factory of the Furniture sectoral enterprise forget that an inseparable component of management work is the systematic and consistent inspection of ones subordinates? Surely, the requirement of high social efficiency and quality applies from production right up to the sale to the consumer.

#### State Farm Manager Dismissed

Prague SVOBODA in Czech 14 Jan 80 p 3

[Text] Our society places high demands, justifiably, on supervisory personnel. After all, they directly influence, by their daily activity, the thoughts and interactions of people, administer work collectives in the fulfillment of production tasks. They should conduct themselves as an example in their whole life, in all their opinions and principles.

Comrade Z. Rezac, the former director of the Dolni Kralovice State Farm in the Benesov region, had served in this position for 18 years. He had amassed much professional and political experience and had solved, as a good organizer, many problems at his job. He possessed authority and had succeeded in promoting social interests. Under his direction, the farm had achieved very satisfactory economic results. It belonged among the leading agricultural enterprises of the region, especially in grain and milk production.

Not even comrade Rezac's indubitable achievements and good economic results, however, can justify the shortcomings which have appeared in recent years in his public conduct and appearances. These stem from an occasional tendency towards alcohol. He was warned about this as early as two years ago in a party evaluation of his work. This was necessary because, as we have already stated, the party and society place high demands on supervisory workers and functionaries.

It is a shame that he did not learn an important lesson from this. Again, several more times, he conducted himself in other than his accustomed fashion under the influence of alcohol. Deliberate statements were

replaced by insults, invective, by conduct simply unbecoming to a person who leads and educates a large collective of people. Very little was necessary for this, for instance a little alcoholic fortification in the local tavern. Then matters would lead even to threats, made in an exhilarated mood during crude verbal brawls...

Each of us bears the responsibility for his actions. Comrade Rezac was therefore fired from his position, a party investigation was initiated, and finally the presidium of the CPCZ Regional Committee reprimanded him, as party punishment.

We respect conscientious work in our society and it is not necessary to damn someone for occasional mistakes and mistaken judgement. In Comrade Rezac's case, all of his achievements, knowledge and experience were taken into account. It will be possible to utilize these fully in a less responsible position as the director of the Vlasim center of the Benesov Agricultural Purchasing and Supply Factory. And he will certainly learn a lesson as well from the party punishment.

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## BENO ON ECONOMY, PARTY CARDS EXCHANGE

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 1, 7 Dec 79 pp 7-16

[Article by Mikulas Beno, Secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee:  
"A Great Responsibility Before All of Society"]

[Excerpt] The fulfillment of the party's economic policy is a decisive link in the party's struggle for the development of society. The content, forms, and methods of party work must all measure up to this. When we speak of the urgency of a more rapid adjustment of our economy to the most exacting conditions of development, this applies in the same way to party work and through the instrumentality of the communists, to the activities of the organizations of the National Front, and of all components of our political system. The significance of good work of these organizations increases with the process of socialist development of society. As was emphasized at the 15th party congress, it creates conditions for the implementation of various interests, activities, and initiatives of the citizens, for their participation in managing and conducting public affairs, uniting their efforts in the building of socialism. It is desirable to create the kind of atmosphere so that the nature of the activity, especially of mass organizations of worker and national committees--the organs of peoples power--would measure more up to their place in the political system, their mission, and their social responsibility.

The enormity of the tasks which we are providing in the last year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan and in preparation for the 16th party congress place on every level of party control the urgent demand for deeper analysis of the experience, conditions, and practice of solving the tasks. The reasons must be analyzed in those places where our work is not going well, and new tasks and new conditions must be mastered comprehensively. Mobilize all components of the subjective factor, which is decisive for us to move forward. This is at the same time the framework of political organizational and ideological education work. A basic prerequisite for the further intensification of the leading role of the party is the implementation of the demand for a comprehensive approach, which measures up to the complexities of current tasks and to the greater effectiveness of the party and of its united and purposeful fulfillment of all of its functions.

The further improvement of party work lies in a scientific approach, which is an inseparable component of party control and an important trait of the leninist style of work. Its basis lies in the fact that it assures order and adequacy in the activity of the party, every member of a political organization of society, and every communist with the needs of life and the objective laws and conditions of the development of society and of the party itself. What the significance is of a political approach, especially in management and in work with cadres at all times and in all situations is spelled out splendidly in the works of comrade L. I. Brezhnev: *SMALL COUNTRY, REBIRTH, and VIRGIN LANDS*. For us, these are not just memoirs, but above all, very current experiences of the creative developed leninist cadre policy and management, as, of course, the ability to manage state and over-all social interests, to think in these broad categories, and to make correct political decisions.

One of the basic prerequisites for the successful activity of the party is the quality of its membership base. The 14th and 15th congresses and the subsequent plenary sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee paid considerable attention to this question. They consistently used for their starting points and guided their discussion with the thoughts of V. I. Lenin on the conditions of party membership, which Lenin formulated in bitter struggle with mensheviks at the 2nd Congress of the RSDRP, when he said: "Anyone can be considered for party membership who agrees with its program and supports the party both by material means and by personally taking part in work in one of the party organizations.\* Our party bases itself consistently on this legacy from Lenin, cares about the purity of its rank and file, and purposefully directs every one of its members to active work.

The leninist concept of party membership refers, not only to those newly initiated into the party, but to the entire membership base. Today this party membership requirement of Lenin, which continues to be valid on a wide scale, is connected with the great demands for political, professional, and moral qualities of a party member. Objectively, the tasks of the current stage of buildup of our society demand this.

Practice proves the current validity also of another leninist principle of party structure--democratic centralism. Its comprehensive implementation in a consistent structure for the tasks of the given stage of social development makes it possible for every party member to utilize abilities, knowledge, and initiative in the course of fulfilling the party line in a wide variety of sectors of the life of society.

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\* Lenin, V. I., *SPISY [Writings]*, vol. 7, Prague, 1953, page 245.



The preparation and deliberate individual selection of candidates is the first important step toward the quality of party ranks. The demanding selection of candidates makes it possible to judge whether those who are entering the party will, in consequence of this measure up with honor to all of the requirements and duties of a communist. When V. I. Lenin addressed new party members, he reminded them that party membership does not bring advantages, rather, it requires responsible and devoted work.

The improvement of the membership base necessitates an unabated objective process--the continuous task of the entire party. It is a fact that party membership obliges one to great responsibility before all of society, and places great demands on comprehensive preparedness. Great emphasis is placed on the political, ideological, and moral formation of communists. The long term goals of improvement of party work will be solved by us from the standpoint of current, but also long-range needs of increasing party influence in society as a whole, and primarily in the decisive sectors, in the decisive professions. The leading role of the working class, even during the stage of building a developed socialist society, answers the purpose of constant concern over the strengthening of the worker nucleus in the party. In doing so, the representation of the collectivized farmers and the socialist intelligentsia must not be neglected.

These elements of raising the quality of the party were pursued by the exchange of party cards, which contributed significantly to the further deepening of the importance of party membership, the strengthening of party ranks, and the raising of the activity of party members and the readiness for action of the basic organizations.

Party organs and basic organizations penetrated deeper into the problems of the worker collectives, and significantly influenced the training of workers and their preparation for the fulfillment of the established tasks. They acquainted themselves with the viewpoints, the suggestions, and the remarks of communists, which contributed to the improvement of the quality of work of party organizations in the fulfillment of the resolutions of the 15th congress.

The exchange of party cards demonstrated the devotion of party members to the thoughts of marxism-leninism and of party policy, and confirmed the high ideological, organizational, and actional unity of the party ranks and their closing in as one about the the central committee. At the same time it was confirmed that the further growth of the activity of party members is the prerequisite for our further successes in all sectors of socialist construction.

The conversations with the party members, which were an important component of the exchange of party cards, were of great importance in raising the readiness for action of party organizations. The concrete party tasks that have been assigned in all areas contribute to the over-all increase in activity of the party members. What is

going to matter now is for the activity of communists to develop further, so that the tasks set forth will be fulfilled without exception and for the practice of assigning party tasks to become a permanent form of party work.

The exchange of party cards confirmed the correctness of the political and ideological goals set forth and the continuous validity of Lenin's concept of membership, which lays the task upon everyone to strengthen ideological and organizational unity, to maintain firmness, consistency, and purity of our party, and to strive to elevate the name and significance of the party member ever higher.

The exchange of party cards was a very exacting test of the ability and strength of the party, and the level of its political organizational and educational work. It also disclosed the divergences and weak spots in work, but also indicated concrete ways for solving these problems and deficiencies. The experiences of the okres committees of the party from the course of the exchange of party cards in particular provided numerous suggestions on how to improve and carry out the implementation of the leninist style and method of work. They lead to a deeper consideration of many questions of party work. It is penetrating into the consciousness of the broad activ that a society building developed socialism raises its demands for the improvement of the quality of all functions of party work, and of all economic and social organs and organizations.

The preparation for the exchange of party cards placed great demands especially on the okres committees and the committees of basic organizations. Just by the linking of the exchange with the more consistent solution of the main tasks in the coming year, numerous suggestions arose for the improvement of the activity of organs, apparatuses, and the activ of okres committees. Great attention was focused on the concrete content of the increase of effectiveness in the management of basic organizations. This applies to such very important sectors, such as the development of effective implementation of the right of control, and a more effective method of work with the resolutions of superior party organs and their implementation in the context of local conditions.

The development of criticism and self-criticism as methods of raising the effectiveness of party conduct, as an important motive force, which helps to solve problems, overcome impediments, eliminate errors and deficiencies, and presses development forward, is tied with practically all elements of the leninist style of work. The exchange of party cards contributed to a higher level of party work. It created good prerequisites and provided incentive for the further increase in involvement of each party member and candidate. Kraj and okres committees, in their work, intensified conception ability, planning ability, and analytic activity.

The party statutes in the article on party membership commit one to the consistent and enterprising fulfillment of party decrees and to active participation in the creation and realization of party policy. The maintenance of these principles is an important condition for unity of word and deed in the work of communists. It assures the unity of party work and raises the party's ability to get things done. Communists are morally and politically obligated to watch over economy at work places, to come out against the favoring of local interests over the interests of society as a whole, to suppress indifference to deficiencies and bureaucratism, and to not tolerate careerism. The assertion of the needs and interests of society as a whole proves the quality of a party member and the firmness of his convictions.

The ideological maturity of members and candidates of the party is one of the basic criteria of the level of the membership base. Therefore, our party devotes purposeful and systematic attention to the ideological, mass political work, and the raising of its level and effectiveness. The current tasks necessitate consistent implementation of the totality of party education in the ideological unity of political, work, and moral education. The party devotes particular care to the education of candidates and young members of the party, whose number and share in the ranks of the party has increased substantially and continues to grow. The 11th session of the CPCZ Central Committee expressed this idea in the words: "As the party grows in number, the requirements for providing for the political and ideological growth of all communists increase. It is important even more that by the 16th congress, communists received since 1971 will form nearly half of the party ranks."\*

Effective party education helps to raise activity, with purposeful party discipline, which stems from the deepest comprehension of the laws of social development, the mission and the intent of party policy, its structure, and the system of party work. Today, the demands are growing in particular for an increase in work discipline, responsibility for the development of the national economy, and for the consistent fulfillment of the tasks in all areas of the life of society. Members and candidates are required to have a knowledgeability of marxism-leninism and party policy, their application at every work place, and to develop mass political work in suitable working collectives and in residential areas.

The personal responsibility of communists for their assigned tasks, sectors, for the activity of their organization and for the policy of the entire party is connected directly with the level of conscientiousness and discipline. Responsibility and high principle are inseparably connected with the activity and life of communists. Without them, it would not be possible to put communist ideals into reality. The personal responsibility of a communist is a matter of communist honor, communist morality, and likewise the political maturity of a party member.

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\*The session of the CPCZ Central Committee of 15-16 March 1978. The report of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the results of the fulfillment of the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress and further progress in its realization, Prague, Svoboda, 1978, page 34.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has entered 1980 enriched by the experience and practical knowledge gained from the implementation of the line of the 15th congress and the fulfillment of its social and economic program. The 14th session of the central committee in December of last year followed up the measures of prior sessions and the results attained and experiences gained from the entire period of preparation for the exchange of party cards. Tasks were set up whose realization was necessary for the fulfillment of the entire Sixth Five-Year Plan. The successful provision of tasks connected with the building of a developed socialist society fills our people with justifiable pride in the work accomplished. It is a contribution to the development of the entire socialist society, and to the struggle for lasting peace and progress in the world. It intensifies our congruity with the world socialist system and strengthens the international ties of our workers with the communist and worker movement.

In this jubilee year, when the efforts of the workers toward fulfilling the Sixth Five-Year Plan are reaching their culmination point, let us remember the 110th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin--the classicist of scientific knowledge and practice in building a new society. The fulfillment of Lenin's legacy of building a revolutionary action-ready party--the organizer of the building of a socialist society --and his concept of party membership and the position of a communist in society, whose authority is based on the example of a devoted builder, a resolute fighter for everything new that serves the happy life of the people and the blossoming forth of a socialist land, will be a worthy contribution of our party to the celebration of this anniversary and a further confirmation of the growth in strength and vitality of leninism.

5808

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

OFFICIAL DISCUSSES POLITICAL INDOCTRINATION OF YOUTH

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 12 Feb 80 p 3

[Interview with Marian Grigl, chief of the ideological department of the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee, by Kazimir Janoska, reporter for MLADA FRONTA: "School for More Than a Million"]

[Text] Three months ago, in past November the political education of the SSM [Socialist Youth Union] entered the new school year of 1979-1980. For almost 1,200,000 union members, this was how--figuratively speaking--the school started with a curriculum oriented to education of boys and girls in the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist world conception. Since 1970, when our new unified youth organization was created, a great deal of success has been achieved in this important form of ideological-educational work of our union, particularly in the organizational area. However, years later quantitative data have ceased to play the most important role. They have been replaced by the requirement of own quality in ideological-educational activity among union members and unorganized youth. And namely toward these problems were directed the questions I confronted with Marian Grigl, chief of the ideological department of the SSM Central Committee.

[Question] What can we gather from the evaluation of the 1978-1979 political education in the SSM?

[Answer] Its statistical part indicates that more than 1,172,000 boys and girls participated in the union's education during the past year. Additional 227,300 union members took part in appropriate forms of party and trade union schooling. The activity was completed by a total of 52,464 units, 3,352 units more than in the previous year. No units were established in 2,161 20 (basic organizations) of the SSM, that is, in 4.9 percent of the total number of the SSM basic organizations. There were 61,000 union members who did not participate in the political education program of the SSM. On the



other hand, more than 65,000 unorganized youth participated in individual group activities. And finally, in brief statistics--figures showed that the individual units were short of 1,187 propaganda workers (2.1 percent) needed to cover fully work within individual units.

[Question] Statistics are hardly adequate to reflect the most important information, such as the effectiveness of this form of ideological-educational work....

[Answer] Self effectiveness would be rather difficult to express in mathematical terms. That is why the union's organs have selected as one of the criteria the specific acts of SSM members in the implementation of the tasks of the 15th Congress of the CPCZ, of the 6th Five-Year Plan, in the process of developing all forms of socialist democracy. Through hundreds of examples of good work of the SSM basic units, youth labor collectives, youth brigades engaged in complex rationalization work, the watchdogs of the Spotlight on Youth [Reflektormladych] and individuals, one can objectively document young people's share in the building of a developed socialist society. Constant development of activity and initiative at work and in studies, search for means to eliminate shortcomings, continuous effort for effective and quality work--those are the areas which reflect the specific ideological influence of political education in the SSM as an important factor in gaining youth's active support for the communist party policy.

[Question] I agree, but on the other hand even thousands of hours completed in labor brigades may not necessarily indicate that all young people have contributed because of their own inner conviction to an enterprise, the entire national economy.

[Answer] We fully realize that, and consider it in a detailed analysis. Cognitive activity itself is an area, in which we continue to have considerable reserves. We make sure that okres and kraj committees of the SSM do not concentrate only on evaluation of organizational assurance of the task, the material equipment of the units, and on getting propagandists for political education in the SSM. But that they would evaluate carefully their own content; the activity of the students, their attitudes, the extent to which the students understood the subjects, what is not clear to them, and so on.... Indeed, cognitive activity of good quality is one of the important prerequisites for aggressive effectiveness of our ideological-educational activity, further development of political work among the masses, effective approach to all SSM members and other young people. However, meanwhile this activity suffers from certain superficial and formal ways of approaching the problems. When applied in practice, these ways are the reason why we do not react readily enough and in a sufficiently differentiated ways to the views of the boys and girls, manifestations of ideological diversion, and negative activities by individuals.

[Question] We know about the reserves. But how are they to be revealed in practice and as a result also fully utilized for the benefit of our cause?

[Answer] First of all this requires a systematic education with tenacity of purpose on the part of the functionaries at all organizational levels of our union and a systematic methodological assistance to the committees of SSM basic organizations from the union's higher organs. These are two joint tasks, but they are in the hands of the people.... Therefore, it is the people on whom other things also depend, namely continuous, systematic control and visits by the ideological personnel, who can--and should--actively determine the shortcomings and correct them immediately.

In that respect we have gained good experiences for example in the districts of Spisska Nova Ves, Cesky Krumlov, and Roznava, where constant attention is paid to this activity during the entire course of political education, not merely during its preparatory and initial stages and then only at the end of it. For example, the Humenne SSM Okres Committee acting in agreement with the House of Political Education of the CPSL Central Committee, utilized 130 students attending the second year of the VUML [University Night Classes on Marxism and Leninism] for continuous methodological help and visits in those SSM basic organizations where shortcomings were found at the beginning of the new school year of political education. On the other hand, there are districts such as for example Kolin, Bruntal, Svidnik, where this form of increasing the effectiveness of ideological-educational work has not been fully appreciated as yet....

[Question] If we conceive political education as a significant part of political work among the masses, the ability of propagandist and lecturer to stimulate independent thinking of the students becomes important....

[Answer] One could write an essay several hundred pages long on this subject. So let me answer your question anyway briefly: For the time being, the training of propagandists and lecturers concentrates in most cases on methodological seminars dealing with individual topics and is organized usually before the start of a new school year of unionist education. It is true that these seminars are a platform for exchanging experiences, but they would benefit from a more frequent "periodicity," that is, they should be held about once in a semester or three months. This would speed up especially the flow of information needed for a well-informed lecture on topical questions about the development of domestic and foreign affairs, urgent problems in the area of economics, ideological struggle, the Leninist peace policy of the USSR and other socialist countries, events of the world-wide revolutionary process, and partial questions brought about day by day by life itself. This requires among other things SSM okres and kraj union committees concentrating not only on the organizational aspects of the preparation and course of the methodological seminars, but especially on assistance in the seminars' content for the benefit of those who face the boys and girls in an effort to perfect their preparation for work involving facts and arguments. There are more than enough of these facts and arguments and their conclusive evidence influences human consciousness much more than hours of extensive but at the same time tedious lectures.

The human factor in the teaching process is very important, and therefore we are striving continuously to assure that young people from the ranks of the SSM membership are selected for the functions of lecturers and propagandists on a much greater scale. In the school year of 1978-1979, they represented 48.8 percent of the total number of permanent propagandists. There are reserves involved in SSM okres and kraj committees' evening schools, which are a natural source of manpower for this activity. For example, 10 of these evening schools are operating with good results in the SSM municipal organizations in Kosice and Rožnava, which is also reflected in the assigning of SSM members to the functions of propagandists and lecturers. There are also other districts which we could praise in this respect, but the opposite also applies.... However, if the situation is to improve, one important thing among others is required: one must proceed much more carefully in determining the social evaluation of the work of lecturers and propagandists. Indeed, the evaluation is one of the forms of stimulating their interest in doing a really effective job. Some organizations have only one single criterion for that, namely whether the lecturers are giving lectures, and how many times a month they give them. But they do not check to see how well and effectively they do the job.

[Question] Political education of the SSM, that is a school in which one cannot fail. What are the "subjects" in which the students' knowledge appears to be inadequate?

[Answer] Our surveys, individual progress reports on unionist education, analyses of the status and composition of the membership base, the expected dynamics of its growth at the basic educational level show to us inadequate knowledge of the Youth Union's basic documents, inadequate understanding of the statutes, questions of democracy within the union, democratic centralism, unity of rights and obligations. During the forthcoming period, we will also have to concentrate more on explanations of questions concerning the political system of the socialist society, increase the requirements regarding the propagandists, and assure that they would be able to bring these problems closer to the young people by showing them specific functions of the political system. One must give more room in this area to supplementary forms of education such as informal gatherings of party members with young people which proved effective in the past, conversations of national committee members with young people, arrangements for participation of representatives of the community, town, the CPCZ basic organization, meritorious party members in the presentation of lectures, so that young people can learn from specific examples about the tasks of the national committees and components of the National Front in the place where they live, work, or study.

[Question] The first semester of this year's political education of the SSM is gone. It is highest time to correct the situation in those organizations where they are still marking time.

[Answer] The basic thesis applies in this case, thesis which has been tested and confirmed in practice. That the overall course, quality, and effectiveness of political education depend on the level of training. The Okres com-

mittees, which paid consistently attention to the preparatory stage--which took place last year between May and October--utilized fully specific positive and negative examples from previous school years, and consulted CPCZ okres committees and Houses of Political Education of the CPCZ okres committees about their procedure, did not have and so far do not have any major problems. However, some organizations still continue to take a formal approach to this important part of our union's ideological-educational and political work among the masses. But people who are inspired for the cause, who are politically and professionally up to it and able to carry out the demanding tasks in practice, having nothing in common with this formal approach. We are striving first of all to make sure that people of this kind would hold as many places as possible in all areas of our union's internal life.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

3668

CSO: 2400

## GUIDELINES FOR CZECHOSLOVAKS TRAVELING ABROAD

Hradec Kralove POCHODEN in Czech 14 Jan 80 p 4

[Text] The interest on the part of our citizens in private trips abroad, for a new experience or a holiday stay by the sea, has been increasing from year to year. Trips and vacations are being planned in many families right now, during the winter.

During the offseason the principal flow of people interested in foreign tourism is directed at the socialist countries. This is a matter of one day and two day excursions. Vacations, on the other hand, are stays of longer duration near the sea or elsewhere. This year, exchange offices will sell foreign currency for trips to socialist countries on a per person, per diem basis in the following amounts; Bulgaria, 17 leva; Romania, 200 lei; German Democratic Republic, 70 marks; People's Republic of Poland, 530 zlotys; Hungary, 150 florints; Soviet Union, 25 rubles; and Cuba, 30 pesos, with children under 15 years of age receiving half the above amounts.

Travel agencies are receiving even more foreign currency, in the central distribution of reserves, for individual tourist travel to Yugoslavia, the capitalist countries and developing nations. This is evident from the ever wider travel possibilities offered by relevant travel agencies, which assure a peaceful and satisfying vacation in those countries where the individual tourist is faced with many risks, primarily from the viewpoint of price fluctuations. Voucher administration is not, then, the primary form of tourist travel to nonsocialist countries, and its significance will continue to decline. This year there will be additional important changes in voucher administration and we are therefore announcing its principal guidelines.

1. The Czechoslovak State Bank is accepting applications for foreign currency vouchers for private trips to nonsocialist countries and Yugoslavia in its branch offices, according to the applicant's residence, until 31 January 1980. An application may be submitted at only one location. Applications are submitted on prescribed forms (one for nonsocialist states and one for Yugoslavia) which are on sale at all branch offices of the Czechoslovak State Bank.



2. The confirmation of an employer, school, social organization, relevant National Committee, etc., agreeing to the trip of the applicant and recommending positive action on the application, must be presented on the back of an application for a foreign currency voucher for a journey to a non-socialist state. This confirmation is not required on applications for vouchers for trips to Yugoslavia.

3. Branch banks will process applications from a temporal point of view, i.e. in terms of the year of the applicant's last trip. For this reason, applicants must state the year of their most recent private trip, the number of days spent abroad and the purpose of the trip (for instance tourism, invitation, medical treatment, conference, travel agency excursion, participation in funeral, etc.) on the application for a currency voucher for a trip to nonsocialist countries in the space labelled "Residence of applicant in capitalist state during last three years."

Applicants who have not yet visited nonsocialist states should enter the remark "have not as yet travelled to NS." There will be no change in the applications for currency vouchers to Yugoslavia.

4. We advise citizens who visited nonsocialist states between 1977 and 1979 not to submit applications, since it is improbable that their application will receive favorable consideration.

The Bank will inform applicants only of the favorable processing of an application, by means of sending a confirmed currency voucher before 17 March 1980.

Applicants who obtain currency vouchers on the basis of incorrect information regarding the most recent trip abroad will have the voucher revoked upon subsequent determination of such an action.

5. The Bank is not accepting group applications from individuals for sporting, expeditional and other trips, nor group applications from enterprises and organizations (e.g. factory committees of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement) for trips to nonsocialist states and Yugoslavia.

6. This year the Czechoslovak State Bank is selling, on the basis of a currency voucher, for the covering of travel expenses during individual tourist travel to nonsocialist states, foreign currency equivalent to U.S. \$12 to 17 on a per person, per diem basis to a maximum of U.S. \$340 per trip, and Din 200 to 250 per person per day to Yugoslavia to a maximum of Din 5000 per trip. The Bank sells half of the above amounts to children under 15 years of age. Travellers may purchase foreign currency one month before departure. Related questions and claims are processed only by the branch of the Bank where the application was submitted.

To a lesser extent, close relatives travel to Yugoslavia and nonsocialist states on the basis of so-called "invitations." After the arrangement of



all travel formalities, only branch banks sell, for such trips, one way expense money. This expense money amounts to the equivalent of U.S. \$14 for trips to European countries. It is higher for trips outside of Europe, U.S. \$28. Expense money for trips to Yugoslavia is Din 300. Trips to Bulgaria with transit through Yugoslavia will be assured with the sale of Din 250 per person and transit in both directions.

We advise those who will be vacationing outside of the borders of our homeland to check right now the validity of travel documents and citizen's passports and to remedy in time any shortcomings in them. Nor should the assurance of travel formalities or the purchase of foreign currency be put off until the last minute. In this way you will avoid the biggest rush on exchange offices from mid-June until the end of July.

9276

CSO: 2400

## CPCZ WEEKLY DISCUSSES BRIBERY, ITS FORMS, EFFECTS

AU281320 [Editorial Report AU] Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 1, on 13 February 1980 on pages 4 and 5 carries a 4,800-word account of a discussion between TRIBUNA's editor Oldrich Bilovsky and the lawyers Miroslav Buzek and Karel Pesta, senior prosecutors of the CSSR Prosecutor General's office, dealing with "bribes and the battle against them" and entitled "A Strictly Public Affair." The motive for holding the discussion was, according to Bilovsky, the fact that "there is still a considerable number of those who accept bribes as well as those who offer them" although "bribery and corruption harm the development of economic and social relations and are at variance with socialist ethics."

The opening part of the discussion, which deals with the definition of bribery, distinguishes two basic forms of it: one, in which the person offering the bribe pursues his personal interest and where the bribe comes from his private pocket; and a second form where "the payer pursues the benefit of an organization, enterprise or institution" and where "the bribe is drawn illegally from the property of the socialist organization." According to Buzek, "the share of bribes belonging to this group has increased lately and constitutes at present almost 45 percent."

Although, as Pesta notes, the number of cases of bribery registered by the courts has increased, "the increase does not reflect the true state of affairs. The cases that wind up before the judge represent only a small percentage." He adds that "deplorably, we have not detected any decline in the occurrence of this antisocial phenomenon so far. A number of signals even indicate that the opposite is true," but does not specify the nature of those "signals."

Speaking on the cases of bribery that become the subject of the court proceedings, Pesta mentions that the most frequent form is "the attempt to bribe members of the Public Security Corps, prosecutors and judges. Relatively small sums (between KCS500 and KCS1,000) are being offered to members of the Public Security Corps, higher bribes (ranging from KCS1,000 up to KCS30,000) to prosecutors and judges. The motive is an attempt to avoid prosecution. Another large-group, according to Pesta, is made up of "bribes offered to secure for oneself an apartment, the allocation of real estate property or similar services provided by the state administration. Pesta notes that the sums amount up to KCS15,000, for the mediation of a lot for the construction of a weekend house.

Commenting on the frequent occurrence of those forms of bribery, Bilovsky suggests that "this does not mean that most bribes are being offered to judges, prosecutors or members of the Public Security Corps. The reason for the situation probably consists in the fact that those people know the legal order, are confronted with it day in and day out and do not lack a high sense of responsibility; they either report the case or resolve it themselves." He also voices the assumption that "the situation in education and especially in the health sector is more complicated."

Referring to the health sector, Buzek notes that the most frequent forms of bribery dealt with by courts are "false certificates on the state of health for the court or some other body, recognition of work disability and so on. The sums offered in those cases were considerable--KCS5,000 and KCS25,000. As a matter of principle prosecution was initiated both against the person who offered the bribe and against the physician."

Referring to education, Pesta says that "the situation is relatively complicated and legal prosecution has begun only recently. However, the cases we have discovered indicate that bribery in education has existed for quite a long time. It seems to be quite extensive and, moreover, certain circumstances indicate that things are organized. I would like to mention in this context that--particularly thanks to the organs in Slovakia--the number of prosecutions of cases of bribery in education has increased. In most cases considerable sums were involved: for instance, KCS30,000 for influence in university admission, in another case it was 'only' KCS22,000. In all the cases we have discovered we very strictly punished those who accepted the bribe or mediated in the whole action."

Commenting on bribery in trade, Buzek notes that the sums of money involved between KCS200 and KCS1,000 and are being offered by the customers to obtain goods that are in short supply. He also mentions that there has been an increase in the number of discovered attempts by trade employees to bribe a superior body to avoid the consequences of an inspection.

According to Pesta, bribes are also being offered to acquire a sought-for job: "What makes this criminal activity so grave are our findings about the existence of fixed 'rates' indicating even a certain system. I will try to illustrate it by a few examples: the senior nurse of a certain district institute of national health collected in eight instances between KCS2,000 and KCS4,000 to mediate the director's favor in hiring nurses. In another case we found out that it is a custom to pay KCS2,000 for a manager's post in a restaurant. Or: legal proceedings were initiated against the head of a traffic department of the Czechoslovak State Automobile Transportation who collected bribes of KCS500 for transferring drivers from freight to passenger transport."

[AU281335] The two lawyers also discuss cases of bribery in the relations between enterprises, organizations and institutions and their most frequent form--bribes in supplier-consignee relations paid to secure for one's enterprise preferential deliveries of materials, or other advantages--noting that the transactions involved are very intricate, which makes them very difficult to detect. They stress that those forms of bribery give more

rise to concern than the "classical" forms: "They deform the morale of whole groups of citizens; are the cause of people's distrust in the activity of public officials and other ranking personnel; deprive economic incentives of their effect, especially in the sphere of wages; and weaken the influence of legal economic instruments. Besides, they cause direct economic damage because considerable values are relegated from property in socialist ownership to private hands and because of the willful and arbitrary drain of goods that are in short supply. However, what is most important: They disturb people's awareness that in socialism one's living standard and social status should be dependent solely and exclusively on the quantity and quality of one's work, work that is important and beneficial for society. At the same time they introduce elements of rivalry, which are unhealthy and alien to socialism, into economic life and permit the influence of local, group or branch egotism."

Pesta cites the following case to illustrate the harmful consequences of bribery in economic life, its adverse effect on people's morale and the "paralyzation" of economic instruments it causes: "In a certain town the hot water installation for more than 150 families inhabiting a housing settlement broke down, immediately before the onset of winter. The national committee made considerable efforts to have the defect repaired. It negotiated with the supplier of the installation and with its superior organ. In the end it achieved a promise that the repair would be done--but only in 7 or 8 years. The head of the housing enterprise and one of his colleagues, therefore, decided (the Council of the National Committee probably knew about the whole transaction) to get hold of KCS2,000 by cheating on wages. They handed the money over to an employee of the supplier enterprise. The result was that the impossible became reality. The installation was fixed in 2 months' time."

In the final part of the discussion Pesta and Buzek deal with the legal aspects of bribery. They note that the sentences have become more stringent since 1975--saying that 25 percent of sentences passed for bribery are now unsuspended sentences--but complain that public opinion still unduly tolerates bribes, which makes it difficult to eliminate them. Buzek concludes: "A more effective battle against bribery is a matter concerning the broad public, each citizen. It is essential that people grasp it, act accordingly and, above all, that they forestall this criminal activity by setting an example and exerting their influence."

## SLOVAK DAILY DISCUSSES EFFECT OF U.S. FILM ON CSSR YOUTH

AU271414 [Editorial Report AU] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 19 February 1980 on page 4 carries a 2,200-word article by Pavol Minarik, entitled "Are 'Idols' Untouchable?" The article reviews readers' responses to the Minarik article in Bratislava PRAVDA of 19 January (referent item), which criticized the film "Saturday Night Fever" starring John Travolta as an instrument of ideological warfare and noted its harmful impact on Czechoslovak youth.

Reader Jaroslav Hajda from Kosice concedes that "after the showing of the film 'Travoltamania' has really become widespread. And that is true not only in discotheques. Some young people have changed their lifestyle to resemble as much as possible the general image of that 'perfect young man'," but Hajda does not share the author's anxiety about the film's influence on youth, saying that "the number of such enthusiasts is on the decline" and that "the majority of young people find the carefully combed and dressed king of the discotheques and his empty colorful world ridiculous."

Tatiana Simkova from Bratislava who claims to be expressing the view of "a large portion" of youth objects to Minarik's criticism of the film's presentation in Czechoslovakia: "I admit that the film may not reflect reality and that it is only artificial. But so what? Minarik himself writes that the protagonist of the film represents a majority of the North American youth, so why should we not see its life and lifestyle? Something else, something that is much less pleasant, is hidden behind the discotheques, the music and the lighting effects. But that is a different matter. Those are different problems that can be dealt with in other films.... The film has been discussed a great deal. Boys are trying to copy John Travolta not in his attitudes (for instance, to the North American Government) but in his dance. What is bad about that?...I saw the film five times. Each time I was fascinated and had an excellent time but I really cannot say that the film evoked in me the longing for such a way of life."

Frantisek Novotny from Presov poses the question "Why has Tony Manero [the film's protagonist] gained such popularity among our young people?" Novotny offers the following explanation: "While the Western producers succeeded in a masterly portrayal of a young American who personifies the majority of the North American youth, our authors have not created for our youth a comparable type of today's socialist person. You can disagree...but I think that if there existed a specific, visual image of a young socialist person we would not have been stricken with the 'Manero wave.'"



Vojtech Fronc and Peter Rajcan from Kosice disagree in their joint letter with Minarik's assessment of the film as propaganda for consumerism: "The viewer does not perceive the film as propaganda for the consumer-type way of life but as its criticism. The film is an outcry of unconscious resistance (now I dance but what will happen when I get older) and of its gradual transition to real opposition to society. The film presents that idea very sensitively and subtly but everyone who sees the film is left with the feeling that the authors said what they wanted to say or at least posed the question: Is that good?"

Reader Vladimir B. from Bratislava who also claims to be speaking on behalf of a "great part" of young people expresses a similar opinion: "The author writes that the film aids the infiltration of petty bourgeois elements to our society. However, I think that, apart from good music, the film unobtrusively shows the reality of the West where a young person has no possibility to realize himself."

The seniors of the textile secondary school in Ruzomberok also take exception to Minarik's article: "We disliked the form in which you criticized the film. We think that young people think differently about the film than you do."

Summing up the readers' responses Minarik says: "We received about the same number of approving and disapproving letters to the article 'Who Is Served by Travolta's world.' With the exception of the anonymous letters we read all of them thoroughly and have selected and published some interesting ideas contained in them. One can agree with one part of our readers and polemize with the other. Some of the raised questions were answered by the readers themselves, the other questions must be addressed by the author of the article.

"It is impossible to agree with the view that the film is more criticism of the consumer-type way of life than its propaganda. The champions of Western propaganda have turned the film's protagonist into a myth that attracts youth like a magnet, disintegrates and immobilizes its creative energy and channels it into an abstract, meaningless protest. It may be retorted that towards its end the film 'takes a swing' at old bourgeois ways. But such a protest does not pose a threat to the foundations of the old world. By presenting illusions the dexterous manipulators are striving to suppress the intellect, bring into line the intellectual world of their contemporaries and narrow it down to a 'small world' of stereotyped ideas that are suitable for each situation in life. However, the whole affair does not end with the creation and imposition of illusions. In such a world illusions mostly superimpose on reality and the two coalesce. That is why we disagree with the view that, apart from good music, the film subtly showed the reality of the West."

In the final passage Minarik examines the methods applied by Western filmmakers, stressing that it is the appeal to emotions and the manipulation of the viewers' consciousness which makes films such as "Saturday Night Fever" an instrument of real propaganda and of the present broad ideological attack on the consciousness of the masses."



SLOVAK DAILY SCORES THOSE WHO DO NOT PULL THEIR WEIGHT

AU281500 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Feb 80 p 1 AU

[Editorial: "The Concern of Us All"]

[Excerpt] We do not conceal that our development is accompanied by many problems, mistakes and shortcomings, both in the economic, and in other spheres of our life. Let us consider, for instance, the principles of socialist morale. This morale does not stand apart from the tasks we are solving in national economy. This is understandable, because it is based on a conscious-minded attitude to work, on the creation of relations among individuals, inside the collectives, as well as between individual collectives, relations founded on comradeship, friendship, mutual support and assistance, and close cooperation. There is and can be, no place in these relations for indifference, irresponsibility, petty bourgeois attitudes or egotism. And this regardless of whether the bearers of these negative phenomena declare themselves, or whether they skillfully conceal their true nature. Socialist morale is not expressed in words, but in deeds.

How many fewer moral defects, which leave black marks on our economic results, would we have, if the coresponsibility for the acts, work and life of others were to have a broader backing?

We are living at a time when it is not enough to think only of oneself alone, of one's own earnings, advantages, or personal benefit, while doing nothing consciously or with heart-felt approval, if it is not paid well enough for.

How many healthy citizens who are capable of work are not working, but loafing about? Many of them can be seen more often with a glass in their hand, than with a shovel. They perpetrate felonies. They keep teams of experts busy for long periods, experts whose abilities we could, and should, utilize far more effectively, and not for solving the consequences of slovenliness and absenteeism, but for creating values, both moral and material values. The courts in Slovakia sentence approximately 2,000 citizens annually for parasitism alone; they all are mostly young people of productive age, who are evading honest work. Are we not all responsible for this state of affairs, as parents, relatives, ex-colleagues, fellow citizens, functionaries of national committees and other social organizations?

We must cope with the existence of parasites more resolutely. If for no other reason than that at least they are not contributing enough to our common loaf of bread, while carving large slices off it. Because, truly, it is so that both your and my coresponsibility for the development of our fatherland is reflected not only in our successes, but also in problems, mistakes, shortcomings and negative phenomena.

Such phenomena as criminality, corruption and bribery are foreign to the substance of the socialist society. We have enough possibilities for forestalling them, for eliminating their subjective causes and prerequisites.

We should more purposefully join both our forces and our will, which is also frequently in short supply. This should not, and need not, be so. We have inexhaustible sources of human industriousness.

It is undoubtedly far more complicated to solve the problems of material-technical supplies to national economy that go beyond our borders, than to step up the protection of our economy and social property against stealing and various forms of damage. But still we are not achieving any striking successes on this second battlefield.

Right from the start of socialist construction in our country we have regarded the tasks in the economic sphere as being the most difficult ones. We now have to cope with problems worth billions, not millions, problems coming at us from the world markets. In management we are confronted with the most difficult struggles for the greater prosperity of our economy.

No person with honest intentions toward our society, a society of which he is a member, can evade the large or small struggles for higher discipline, for honest and responsible work. In all places we must consistently apply the rule: the higher the function a person holds, the greater the responsibility demanded from him, the greater the demands placed on him, and the more industrious he is expected to be.

The tasks confronting us are not easy. Life is such: It is setting the standards of exactingness higher and higher. We will not comply with these standards by being resigned, liberal, pessimistic or passive.

The 14th CPCZ Central Committee session stressed the need to increase every working person's personal responsibility for the fulfillment of tasks. This also means not to tolerate instances of a person abusing his position or function, or violating party statutes or laws, regardless of who the person in question is. Tolerance, the ignoring of such phenomena even in isolated instances, causes damage which cannot be expressed in figures. It negatively affects the long years of meticulous upbringing work and its results. It deforms the working people's minds and negatively affects their activity.

No one can be pardoned for violating our laws, not a worker and not a director. This principle is of general validity. Against people fettered by a petty bourgeois psychology we must consistently apply the force of the laws protecting our common interests.

It is no secret that egotistic interests have set in among some executives, particularly the economic ones. Although they are striving to cover this up, in a more or less refined way, these interests frequently surface. In the supplier-consignee relations, in relations among socialist organizations mostly headed by communists, matters are frequently such that they do not make work easier for each other, but rather complicate their mutual life. They are not even mutually fulfilling the signed contractual commitments. It sometimes even happens that deliveries are not agreed on within the framework of a single economic production unit. Do not such tussels show the absence of responsibility of both the leading economic workers, but also of superior bodies?

It is necessary to take uncompromising measures against individuals or groups for diverse machinations, speculations and all manifestations incompatible with socialist morale.

CSO: 2400

## SLOVAK 'PRAVDA' CRITICIZES OFFICIAL'S APPROACH TO CRITICISM

AU040925 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Feb 80 p 3 AU

[Article by Viera Sladeckova: "Bringing About Changes in Economic Thinking"]

[Excerpts] The February members meeting of the CPSL enterprise organization at the Slovak Planning Commission [SPC] dealt with the contents and the resolutions of the 14th CPCZ Central Committee session and of the CPSL Central Committee session of last December. Apart from other things, the meeting focused its attention on the basic tasks and determining factors of our economic development in the last year of the Sixth 5-Year Plan. On the responsible approach to working out the concept for the Seventh 5-Year Plan and the prognoses up to the year 2000 and, in particular, on speeding up the realization of the task stipulated by the congress--to perfect the system of planned management. This group of tasks also found its expression in the report delivered by Eng Karol Martinka, deputy premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic and chairman of the SPC, on behalf of the committee of the CPSL enterprise organization.

It was no accident that the report noted, apart from other things: "...We must start with ourselves in striving to change the economic thinking, on the basis of known facts and conditions, and get rid of habitual, rigid and inflexible approaches and criteria. But we must also affect the formation of such new economic thinking in the economic sphere as a whole..." The report went on to stress: "It is not merely enough to get to know, take note of, comment on and substantiate; it is necessary to do, draw up and propose--in accordance with the new conditions--plans that create pre-requisites for a gradual and continuous advancement [of our economy]. It is now high time to realize what factors have been influential until now, what we have done to overcome them and what price we have had to pay for it, what we have been solving and what we have failed to make use of, to be able to avoid mistakes in the future..." He listed five spheres of the SPC's activity in which it is inadmissible to miss "chances" and lose them. They are: 1. Elaboration of the prognoses of long-term development up to the year 2000; 2. The completion of concepts and tasks for the Seventh 5-Year Plan; 3. Perfection of the system of instruments in the management of the national economy; 4. Operational insurance of the tasks of the current year 1980; 5. The raising of the economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the USSR to a higher level of quality.

Attention was also arrested by the part in the report in which Comrade Martinka informed the members meeting that special working groups, commissions, will be set up, in harmony with the SPC statutes, which will be composed of the best experts from science, research, development, universities and practice and will be working out, under the supervision of a learned scientific-researcher, comprehensive solutions for some key problems that exceed the framework of a single branch and are of progressive significance. A better base for work of a prognosis-synthetical character will be thus established. An extensive part of the more than 40-page report was devoted to the perfection of the system of planned management, even though all departments of the SPC possess the respective sets of documents concerning this system as essential working material. That part of the report could, therefore, have been more concise and more room could have been devoted to what the report was lacking--a specific review of the standard of work of specific comrades, at least of the best ones and of those lagging behind. Because so-called specific criticism is, in fact, anonymous when it is leveled at departments, such criticism obliterates both the outstanding individual and the one who lets himself be "carried" by the collective's efforts. Everything the report contained is 100 percent true, but it was said on an overly general and appellative [apelacni] place, as part and parcel of important national economic data, which it would have been more useful to present at a seminar or in a public meeting of the CPSL enterprise organization. No matter how well-informed and undoubtedly interesting the report was, it lacked specific criticism addressed to one's own ranks--and that precisely at a time when communists, also in the SPC, already have new party membership cards.

Nine comrades took the floor during the discussion but the prevailing feature of their speeches was the raising of problems, less was said about the methods of solving them. Only a few contributions represented an exception--one of them was the contribution of Eng Albin Bagin, director of the department for the chemical and consumer industries, who spoke about the forms and methods of cooperation with the Slovak Ministry of Industry in solving some open problems connected with the year 1980.

Although the communists in the SPC have a special position, in view of the mission of their place of work, the words of Comrade Husak at the 14th CPCZ Central Committee session apply to them too: "We must systematically examine how effective the work is of the apparatuses of the central organs, which employ a considerable number of people, how well they are managed, how they are fulfilling their tasks; we must raise their accountability..." Deplorably, the effectiveness of the work of communists in the SPC was not analyzed in any profound manner at the members meeting in February....

## SLOVAK DAILY ELABORATES ON 'THE RIGHT TO ERR'

AU051305 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Feb 80 p 1 AU

[Editorial: "The Right to Err"; words between slantlines published in witespace type]

[Excerpts] Only inactivity is without error. Only he who cautiously refrains from expressing his opinion on a problem under discussion remains "clever." Only a passive and disinterested observing of the efforts of others, only the maintenance of an appropriate distance from any practical activity saves a person from the risk of making an error.

Every human act, every intention and plan, whether its nature is spiritual or materialistic, is accompanied by the risk of error; pertinaciously and inevitably and exactly because it is a subjective act. Even the man on the street concedes that to err is human. And even the intellectual giants used to err. According to Engels' recollections, Marx was rather weak in bookkeeping, and Lenin erred when he expected that after the Great October Socialist Revolution the proletariat would quickly win in all countries of the world. But what kind of errors were these? They were landmarks on the path toward truth! Even despite the gaps in his knowledge of bookkeeping, Marx made a scientific discovery in the most substantial thing on his mind, which is valid to this very day--he has bequeathed us the formula for the expanded reproduction of capital. And as soon as he saw that his presumptions about world revolution were not materializing, Lenin worked out the concept of building socialism in one country, under the conditions of capitalist encirclement.

The conclusion from all this is simple. Those striving for something positive, for something higher than the old state of affairs, for something new and progressive that did not exist before, for something unprecedented, still untold and undiscovered, such people have /the right/ to err. Simultaneously it is their duty to see to it that their errors are neither substantial, nor repeated. The bad thing is not to err, or to fail to find the truth at the first attempt, but to persist in the error after recognizing it, or not even to strive to check in practice whether one is on the right road.

It is a fact that approximately two-thirds of the members of many basic organizations take no part in the discussions at members meetings the whole year long. Why should I, they ward off reproaches, I agree with everything anyway. But it would be most useful for the committee's work to get to know



the members' approving stances, too. The above words are rather a weak and transparent defense, frequently concealing the hidden thought: And what if I say something silly? Look at the way the fear of making an error leads to one of the forms of unsatisfactory activity. The other forms lie in the daily practice of party work, which is at times quite overwhelming: a group of the most active comrades is overburdened with tasks and functions, whereas a certain group is satisfied with merely attending meetings, listening to reports and passing resolutions; side by side with the galaxy of comrades undertaking serious analyses and seeking for businesslike solutions there usually oscillates a kind of modern red-tapist, who is zealous only outwardly, but otherwise limits himself to merely "critically commenting" on the proposed concepts; while the honest majority is concerned about mistakes, the cautious individuals "channel" it down: leave things in peace....

We address these lines to those individual comrades, who have truly taken a kind of original lifelong insurance against erring, by escaping to the lee of political engagement and economic activity in their entire party organization and in their plant. They are always ready with a reason for their attitude. If something has gone wrong in their working place, they say: Let the committee and the management deal with it. If a significant cadre matter is under discussion they say: I have nothing to say, the appropriate comrades are sure to consider everything well. If a draft resolution has been submitted they say: why should I comment or complement it, when even our [department] head has nothing to add? If the press has criticized us? They say what can one do; such is life.... They shrug their shoulders to everything and go on, looking mainly at the ground beneath their feet.

But let us direct our attention to the question of what is to be done to prevent the various human weaknesses and imperfections from growing beyond the framework of the unwritten right to err, to really link them to the elements of search, creativeness or unconventional style of work?

Above all, let us beware of subjectivism, into which we can fall on every step, without properly knowing how. Let us not replace the actual state of affairs and the reliable data by petrified prejudices, by fixed ideas or rose-colored wishes. Let us not judge the people and events around us according to old stereotyped patterns; let us concede that not only conditions, but also people change. People educate themselves, acquire experience, ripen both professionally and politically; they grow. But the opposite is also true: people become stationary, indolent, some become high-handed after a success, they fail to keep in step with the demands. Not to take into account these changes in people, or to adhere to one's "well-proved" opinions and to their abilities and possibilities, although they had been overtaken by developments, this literally causes errors. A leading worker like that can neither understand his people, nor can he correctly assess them.

[AU051315] A lot of errors are created by a certain kind of out-of-place generosity, or, as the saying goes, by the swing of empty hands. Such a person will passionately discuss things, he will argue and quote data he had grasped so-to-say out of thin air, and he will promise all things at

all times. On looking closer you can see that he is improvising and camouflaging, that in difficult situations he starts scheming, that he is always looking for easier ways and, instead of being thoughtfully interested in a subject, he is always starting an unnecessary uproar around his person, or preaching generalities and brandishing about extenuating circumstances instead of voicing a concrete and binding opinion.

An error starts becoming a mistake when the erring worker is surrounded in this phase by too many deaf ears and closed eyes. Whereas a well-meaning reminder would suffice at this stage. But if it fails to come, if the perpetrator of the error fails to recognize on his own that he has left the right road, because he makes no checks and does not confront the requirements, then the boulder of shortcomings and abuses in his work starts growing and then a reminder is not enough; so he is called to responsibility and punished.

Too many people in our country cannot imagine that errors and mistakes made by individuals, particularly those in leading positions, can be solved other than by recalling them from their functions. We have had reactions to our articles, concretely criticizing the shortcomings of certain workers, in which the authors take exception to the fact that these workers remained at their posts. And what a paradox: it is exactly those who had done but very little that was practical or perceptible for the benefit of the development of our society, except for "giving advice" from the rear, it is exactly those people that call for a dubious "principle-mindedness" and extreme harshnesses of /our cadres/ we have our own, well-proven recipes: comradely reminders, constructive criticism, systematic and consistent control, serious appraisal, a demanding atmosphere in the collective in working places and party organizations, and, if need be, also appropriate punishment.

The right to err? Yes, it exists. The right to mistakes, to shortcomings and abuses does not.

SO: 2400

## CPCZ DAILY ELABORATES ON RESPONSIBILITIES OF CADRES IN ECONOMY

AU050957 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Mar 80 pp 1, 2 AU

[Editorial: "Everything Depends on the People"]

[Text] Whenever the tasks of building the advanced socialist society are discussed, or the plans of national economic development determined, or a certain measure adopted, one simultaneously mentions the people who will be carrying out these plans, and above all those comrades to whom the party, state or economic functions have been entrusted--in other words, the leading workers. This fact has its own logic, contained in the very significance of management and organizational work, the quality of which largely predetermines future results.

At the 15th congress of our CPCZ it was said: "One of the decisive instruments through which the party insures the implementation of its leading role and the successful achievement of its aims in the life of society is the cadre policy. The improvement of the quality of management work primarily depends on the people. From this there follow the demands placed on principled work with the cadres, on the selection of cadres and their training and placement, as well as on care for the systematic growth of cadres."

Everyday practice confirms that good results can be achieved only with a good leading worker, and that the solution of every problem that crops up in life lies with the executives. We may have the best planning and management system possible, and still it will be of little use, if at the same time we do not have a cadre of qualified people, capable of fully utilizing this system for dynamically developing our economy and for fulfilling the party's socioeconomic program.

Undoubtedly we do have talented and capable cadres, which prove their efficiency even under difficult conditions and show that they are well placed, that they had been justly raised to leading functions, and that the trust placed in them is justified. This has enabled the party to carry out a policy of effective and correct cadre stability since the 14th congress, thus providing the leading workers with an opportunity to fully develop their ability to devise concepts and to carry out intentions on a long-range basis and with long-term perspective. At the same time, it has been said, time and again, that healthy stability does not mean absolute rigidity, or an artificial, forced maintenance of this stability in situations

requiring cadre changes. The criterion for assessing whether a particular person had acquitted himself well is both clear and unambiguous: It is the results of his work, and of the work of the collective he is directing and for which he is responsible. If the assessments of individuals happen to include all kinds of viewpoints except the one mentioned above, this is incorrect, and even less is it principled.

Other possibilities exist for expressing appreciation of the people's merits, of their moral qualities, their sincere and ardent attitude toward the party and society, than to keep them in posts they can no longer cope with, posts where they have failed to acquit themselves well, and to keep them there after they have lost the necessary prerequisites and capabilities. All the more so, since many of them can show their qualities in other work, where they themselves will be happier since they will have the certainty that they can cope and could even excel.

However, even here we need tact: We can easily, and without any scruples, part ways with a laggard, an irresponsible person, a careerist, an individual with a weak character. But it is only with difficulty that we take leave of a person who has already accomplished something worthwhile, who has fully devoted a substantial part of his life to socialist society, who has "left his soul" in his work in the factory or cooperative, in the office or institute. And it is a good thing that it is a difficult thing for us to do. It is part of our respect for the people, for their work and their merits. However, it must be just as clear to us that it is impossible to base things on old, past merits; clear that we appraise every person according both to his past and his present. These are sensitive questions, exactly because they mostly concern very honest and selfless people. But the party bears the responsibility for the tremendously demanding program of building advanced socialism; it bears the responsibility for the solution of considerable, key problems, and thus it must constantly establish conditions for the fulfillment and solutions of these tasks, including a correct cadre policy. Thus we are also faced with the unambiguous demand to place cadres in such a way that they provide guarantees for the successful materialization of our program, that they have every prerequisite for responsibly holding executive positions, and correspond to the demands of the present phase.

[J2050958] A principled cadre policy means that one selects people so as to have the guarantee that these people are ideologically mature, politically principle-minded and professionally efficient; that they are people with moral qualities. Naturally, all the qualities mentioned above also include moral qualities, as well as a deep dedication to socialism. It is perhaps unnecessary to stress that people must be appraised comprehensively; and if even one of the character features is lacking, then our choice is incorrect. A person can be, let us say, an outstanding expert; but if he is inadequately mature in the political scene, if he is ideologically unfirm and lacks a sincere attitude to socialism, then he cannot fill a leading position. And frequently it is not because he is perhaps disinclined to work responsibly and well, but because his mind is fixed on his profession and he is incapable of overcoming the barrier of his technocracy; because he will never grasp the development processes and is incapable of correctly

orienting himself and of grasping where the all-social interests lie. On the other hand, a person who is firm both ideologically and politically, a person with a devoted attitude to socialism, an honest and responsible person, but a person lacking the erudition to feel, so-to-speak, at home in his field, such a person also has no hope of succeeding; if he fails to understand the thousands of technical-economic relations, they will drown him.

Perhaps there exist phases in building socialism, in which this or that aspect has greater weight, according to specific historical conditions. For instance, after February 1948 [time of communist take-over] we preferred a thousand times over a leading worker standing on our class positions, even though he had scant or negligible professional knowledge, to an outstanding but reactionary expert, who would have intentionally harmed society and would have been of no use to us. However, today there is no reason, nor is it the right time for emphasizing any particular aspect of the matter. Today the comprehensive appraisal of cadres is in fact a categorical imperative. It is impossible to dispense with anything. And, moreover, we also have no reason for reducing the demands. During the years of building socialism our party, our state has reared hundreds of thousands of people devoted to the party and to socialism and professionally qualified; and hundreds of thousands of other people have grown up to meet the demands of leading functions, through their practical activity and systematic self-education. The possibilities in the selection, training and rearing of cadres are great. True, our demands have grown, but our possibilities have also grown. Today we can truly ask not only what kind of person this is, but also what does he know? Today we can truly place people in the posts where they belong, in posts where they can acquit themselves well.

In speaking about the demands placed on leading workers, the problem is not always correctly understood. Some people believe that it is inappropriate to devote such a lot of attention to these matters. They even feel offended, and sometimes threatened. But can an efficient, responsible and honest worker feel threatened? Certainly not. On the contrary: A just appraisal of the individual leading workers' activity, an objective evaluation of their work strengthens their authority and the respect they enjoy. They are not, as we say, all lumped together; no one else who lacks moral credit can take credit for their merits or their work.

No, it is absolutely not a matter of some opportunistic criticism of certain leading economic workers or of other leading functionaries. It is solely a matter of realistically appraising the significance of cadre work, a matter of using socialist norms for evaluating man's work and qualities, and, as has already been said, of doing this absolutely comprehensively.

[AU050958] We cannot fail to notice that we can frequently encounter varying results under approximately identical conditions; and that there is almost always a subjective factor at the back of them. What shall we discuss first--the differing qualities of the workers and farmers, or the differing qualities of executives? How long can we continue to state that not everywhere has the strategic line of the 15th congress asserted itself, a line aimed at



higher efficiency, thriftiness and quality? And that as yet not everybody has grasped the true meaning of the demand for a more exacting attitude in planning and management activities? After all, this means two tasks in one: an ideopolitical and economic task, and certainly also a moral one. Because, under socialism, moral work means to work so as to serve socialism, so as to hand over to it all one's abilities, all one's energy, and so as to pledge one's mind and heart to it. And here again we are faced with the problem: wherever the heart is in evidence, but the mind is lacking, or vice-versa, wherever there is merely the mind and not the heart, one half of the whole is absent: and this is not sufficient.

Work with the cadres is most difficult and exacting work. It needs a purposeful and systematic, as well as a sensitive approach. The party bodies and organizations are devoting systematic attention to this work. But the results are not always the same. Some places we even encounter elements of formality--at most, the comrades are familiar with the names in their cadre reserve lists, but they are hardly doing anything for the real growth and preparation of these cadres. They do not work with them systematically, on a long-range basis; and whenever they find themselves in a situation forcing them to find a solution for a particular occasion, they find that they actually have no one to put in the place needed.

According to the old and well-tried practice, in any practical activity alongside the experienced older people there are also younger people who are acquiring knowledge and who will one day quite naturally take over from the older generation; or, according to needs and conditions, these generations work alongside each other, without any "generation" problem ensuing from this. The only thing is, that in many places the conviction continues to persist that a young person does not belong in leading position, that he is still immature and inexperienced. And this "young" person, young in the eyes of the comrades in question, may be an able-bodied person in his forties. But surely the directive of the 15th congress stated: Be more daring in raising able and talented young people to responsible functions, and utilize the experience of elderly people with the enthusiasm of the young. This directive has not reached everybody's ears.

Up to now we have spoken about the ideopolitical and professional qualities of leading workers. It is also appropriate to remind oneself of their moral qualities; of the fact that the way they act and behave is constantly in the spotlight of the public opinion, precisely because they are leading workers and functionaries. Not even a leading worker is an angel; he is not flawless. We would be naive to search for such people in our midst. But a leading worker is a person who is, and must be, an example; who must most closely approach the ideal of socialist man and work and live accordingly. Yes, even live. That is exactly why all manifestations of superciliousness, conceit and even of the abuse of functions and positions are the object of criticism, and above all of criticism led by the party. That is why consequences are drawn from such instances. In these instances one cannot expect tolerance.



At the same time it is natural that the party will protect with its authority, and always support, those leading workers in the party, state, economic, as well as the social sphere who fulfill their functions responsibly and devotedly, who enter into struggles for the fulfillment of the party line and who solve problems and eliminate shortcomings creatively, even though because of this they may get into a conflict with people, who have failed to understand this effort and who are even trying to frustrate it.

CSO: 2400

SLOVAK 'PRAVDA' ON PARTY'S RIGHT OF CONTROL

AU051413 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Mar 80 p 1 AU

[Editorial: "Searching for Creative Ways"]

[Excerpt] Although the party bears the responsibility for the overall economic development, it does not assume responsibility for the decision-making in or the direct control of the production-economic processes, for economic management. Thus the party is not a direct, an immediate organizer of production.

The party organization strives for a political approach to the solution of economic tasks and issues. Its mission is to make communists, social organizations and all working people comprehend the basic intentions of the party policy, not only on the general plane, but also in detail at all places of work so that they can identify themselves with them and consciously implement them. At the same time it respects the principle of mutual unity in the solution of political, economic and ideoeducational tasks. At the same time the party rejects subjectivist, unqualified interference in the economy, as well as the "purely expert," technocratic solution of economic tasks regardless of their sociopolitical context, all-social interests and the need to build advanced socialism.

To exert a continuous political influence on the solution of economic tasks, to penetrate economic problems deeply does not at all mean implementing the party's leading role with some sort of administrative methods or even replacing state or economic bodies. On the other hand, the party organization cannot mechanically give the nod of approval to the economic management; it must be capable of analyzing problems independently and assessing what is and what is not good; it must fully foster the sense of all that is new, progressive efforts and the ranking personnel's demanding approach, criticize shortcomings specifically and by name and consistently demand that they be put right.

The party fully respects the Leninist principle of collectiveness and personal accountability of each leading worker. However, its bodies and organizations have the inalienable right to systematically control these workers. This control must be emphatically carried out precisely in economic-political practice, in production, and here one cannot be satisfied with some sort

of report about the activity of economic management or on the plan fulfillment. Equally, one cannot permit the practice of simply acknowledging the existing state of affairs. An inseparable part of the right of control is to demand of all ranking economic personnel--beginning with foremen--a considerably higher degree of responsibility for the smooth operation of production, thriftiness and the growth of efficiency and quality, as well as for the ideological education of fellowworkers. But the most important thing is the educational effect of the organizational and economic work itself. Practice shows that in places where the ranking economic personnel do not take into account the educational consequences of their activity the creative discipline of the working people cannot come fully into being, conscious discipline is replaced by formal discipline, there is not the proper moral-psychological atmosphere in collectives and the production results suffer in the end.

CSO: 2400

## SLOVAK 'PRAVDA' SEES MANAGERS THREATENED BY BOURGEOIS THINKING

AU051451 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Mar 80 p 1 AU

[Editorial: "Ideology and Management"]

[Text] The party organization of an enterprise is a strict critic of the economic activity. At the same time it is a mobilizing force and a firm support for those who honestly and courageously expose shortcomings and exert great efforts to overcome them. The petty bourgeois will shake his head in puzzlement: why do communists guide people on bumpy and steep roads when there are so many convenient and less troublesome, even though tortuous, footpaths?

The relationship between the party organization and the economic management can be viewed, naturally, from various angles. If we examine this question today from the viewpoint of the struggle between caution and courage, between petty bourgeois and communist views, we are doing so because it is precisely the sphere of production management where the result of this struggle becomes most tangible--it either enriches or deprives us of great values. Like any other aspect of our life, the sphere of management, of the technical and administrative organization of production, is not a thing apart from the struggle between petty bourgeois and communist views. However, the sphere of management often tends to adopt individual elements of technocratic, elitist, selfish cautious or other forms of thinking that are alien to socialism. We do not always sufficiently realize that that which we have gotten used to calling the standard of management is primarily and first of all the result of precisely that struggle between communist and petty bourgeois views of people in the process of the multifaceted activity of the economic apparatus of enterprises, plants, directorates and staffs at various levels.

When an employee of the management or the economic apparatus becomes enmeshed in the sticky cobwebs of petty bourgeois views, one hundred workers have their hands full making up for the damage caused by a single person. And, we must add that petty bourgeois views are not, as a rule, being asserted by an isolated individual; the enabling their penetration of the economic practice are usually opened by groups of people of the same ilk who are linked by joint interest and by yes-men contaminated by them....

This strict formulation of the danger of petty bourgeois mannerisms in an economic apparatus may seem to be exaggerated. On reading these lines it will be said in many an organization: Had there been clans and mafias here, we would have discovered it long ago and, besides, such a situation just cannot arise, we will not allow it. However, one should be more cautious about displaying such self-confidence. The things that we call here by their proper name are not usually given such harsh names in everyday life; they appear in hundreds of inconspicuous forms and hardly seem to be socially dangerous.

However, let us take a closer look at the nature of petty bourgeois ways. Maxim Gorkiy, who was an expert on and a mortal enemy of the petty bourgeoisie and author of an ardent pamphlet on that subject wrote, among other things, that the petty bourgeois is ashamed to make a step to the right and terribly afraid to go to the left; the narrow path in between, in which he is nervously running here and there, is becoming ever narrower and resounds with the trite, pleasing but empty and lifeless flood of his words, with the hysterical groan of his cowardly, reckless and trite little soul. It is he who endlessly schemes and speculates. In his characterization of the petty bourgeois M. Gorkiy adds that he is never sincere and does not, therefore, believe in the sincerity of others. His deeds are motivated by his anxiety and fear of the consequences of his own indifference and detachment, he lets other people fight his battles, is tired of his own conscience and tries, therefore, to reconcile the irreconcilable....

These features of character are better known to us. The running about in the narrow realm of trite fears is familiar, to say nothing of the constant urge to scheme everywhere and in everything. Precisely here, in these character qualities, lie the roots of the phenomena that "supply" the party organizations in enterprises with problems, that give communists a lot of trouble.

A typical manifestation of overcautious views in many an economic apparatus of enterprises are misgivings about the plan's exactingness. When party organizations, in the spirit of the resolutions of higher organ, put an end to the immobilizing practice of adopting lesser tasks than those detailed by the plan, a drowsing petty bourgeois woke up somewhere and invented the ostentatious adoption of mobilizing tasks, only to arrange in the course of the year a step-by-step reduction of the plan. Years ago such methods were gradually being adopted also in the Bratislava Gumon plant. There was nothing extraordinary about it, just the "usual" effort: let us convince our superiors that the tasks are not realistic and all of us will profit--we will fulfill the reduced plan, there will be bonuses and less to worry about and even our superiors can be satisfied. After all, a plant where there was a threat of nonfulfillment will succeed in meeting the plan. So what is wrong with that, where is the alleged evil? However, when the CPSL enterprise organization disapproved of such an approach, the conflicts between the economic management and the party organization began to deepen. It was no small battle. In exact accordance with the rules of overcautious thinking, mutual links were created between the people in management, dependence of one upon the other. It was no longer the management of the plant that mattered most but people strove to prove their own "truth"

because who says A must also say B and admitting one error would amount to admitting unprincipled speculations. Wherever such efforts come to the fore, the quality of management inevitably suffers. In the end they solve the problem by changing the director and, subsequently, all his deputies. [AU051452] Nothing antisocial happened, no criminal act was committed, no one spoke about petty bourgeois ways. People "only" got enmeshed in the sticky cobweb. Last year already the remedy became evident, the plan was fulfilled and the planned export even considerably overfulfilled. The party organization reinforced the [party] leadership in the operational facility that supplies 70 percent of production, it deployed communists so as to more effectively exercise their influence on the management of that key sector. Today communists in the Gumon plant are no longer satisfied with a control of the economic activity that is confined to the data on the end result but they also pay attention to the /manner/ [words in slantlines printed in wide-spaced type] in which the economic results are achieved.

Without eradicating elements of petty bourgeois thinking it would not have been possible to achieve success in Gumon, or in other plants that are fulfilling the plan not only pro forma but in the required quality and variety, evenly and effectively and in keeping with contractual obligations and are satisfying the increasing demands on deliveries for export and for the [domestic] market funds.

We deliberately speak of individual features of petty bourgeois thinking. We would hardly find a typical petty bourgeois with all the characteristic qualities. The petty bourgeoisie is not a homogeneous stratum or some sort of a precisely defined group of people. That which persists, and sometimes, in certain situations, is even regenerated or created anew, and hampers progress are /individual elements/ in the thinking and in the deeds of people, people who frequently are not even aware of the petty bourgeois origin of their attitudes. It is necessary to point that out to them.

With respect to economic criminality it frequently occurs that the delinquent defends himself in the following way: "I had nothing to gain from cheating, from acting against regulations. It only helped the plant to fulfill its tasks. As far as bonuses are concerned, they were paid to others as well, so that it was in everyone's interest..." One cannot suppress a bitter smile over such a naive and simple-minded defense. As if it were not clear that the fixing of results can only "produce" revenues but not products. Well, the inventiveness of speculative souls knows no limits. Had there not been any economic losses, difficulties, stumbling-blocks, disorganization, disorder, lagging deliveries, nonfulfillment of contractual obligations and similar malfeasances caused by the selfsame source of petty bourgeois scheming, it would not be necessary to waste words over such transparent arguments. But both the unconscious and the deliberate speculation at the expense of social interest do exist.

What kind of an environment is it in which the aforementioned views and scheming originate? At the machine or at the production line it would be difficult, if not impossible, to juggle data and figures. The economic apparatus, on the other hand, is much more vulnerable from that viewpoint. The economic apparatuses employ normal, diligent and honest people, the work is managed by people with the good will to work better today than they



did yesterday. However, the nature of their work often lays bare attractive possibilities, the illicit use of which often depends on a trifle--a tense or seemingly hopeless situation. That gives rise to acts, the consequences of which must be feared. And fear, as we know, is the motive for the emergence of petty bourgeois attitudes.

The dangers posed by the petty bourgeois practices for the economic and administrative activity should inspire the party organizations to ponder about the everyday negative phenomena also from the viewpoint of the ideological and political struggle. It is necessary to warn the people that to walk the path of the least resistance, to speculate with work results, to manipulate the plan data, to circumvent regulations, to act "only" immorally even though not criminally, to shuffle and to scheme--that these are not small malfeasances but features of the petty bourgeois ideology, and thus of an ideology that is not only alien but hostile.

CSO: 2400

WEST GERMAN COMMENTARY: SELECTION CRITERIA FOR CARDINAL BENGSCHE'S SUCCESSOR

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 26 Jan 80 p 12

[Article by Peter Jochen Winters, datelined Berlin/January: "A Bishop for Berlin--The Selection of a Successor for Cardinal Bengsch Demands Extraordinary Circumspection"]

[Text] The most important event for the Berlin diocese in 1980 will be the nomination of a new bishop, said East Berlin Suffragan Kleineidam recently on the occasion of a New Year's reception for priests and diocesan staff members from both parts of the diocese. He is right, because even the Congress of German Catholics in June in West Berlin and the festivities for the 50th anniversary of the Berlin diocese are put in the shade by the importance of selecting a successor to Cardinal Bengsch, who died in December. True, at the moment it is "only" a matter of deciding on the new diocesan bishop. But in Berlin even this is a delicate procedure, requiring great circumspection and political instinct, one which demands a maximum of discipline from all participants. After all, the Berlin diocese is bisected by a political border. Besides East Berlin and broad sections of the GDR, it also includes West Berlin.

"Preserve Unity!"

Cardinal Bengsch--for 18 years bishop of the undivided Berlin diocese--wrote pleadingly in his "parting words": "Preserve the unity of the diocese." This exhortation will surely induce those responsible to choose a man as the new bishop of Berlin who by GDR law holds GDR citizenship. Any other decision would invariably involve the danger of dividing the diocese because in the case of a bishop of Berlin who came from the FRG or West Berlin, GDR authorities would always have the possibility of denying him admittance and the right to perform his duties in the eastern part of the diocese.

But the man who will carry the heavy burden of bishop of Berlin must not only come from the GDR or from East Berlin; he must also be very familiar with the development of the Catholic church in the GDR as well as with the present status of the relationship between the state and the Catholic church in the GDR. Moreover, he must also be well acquainted with West German

Catholicism: The bishop of Berlin is a member not only of the Berlin Bishops' Conference, the federation of bishops and suffragans in the GDR, but also of the German Bishops' Conference, which is responsible for the area of the Federal Republic of Germany, including West Berlin, where he is of course represented by a permanent deputy from West Berlin. They are thus looking for a politically capable ecclesiastical leader who, by means of his position, represents the tie between West German and East German Catholicism, who embodies the unity of German Catholics.

But this is not all. By tradition, the bishop of Berlin is chairman of the Berlin Bishops' Conference and therewith the spokesman for the Catholics in the GDR in dealings with their state. True, the members of the Berlin Bishops' conference are free, according to their statute, to choose every 6 years whomsoever they want for their chairman, but it is hardly conceivable that a bishop from the provinces could take over this difficult position. Just as the chairmanship of the Berlin Bishops' Conference will probably fall to the new bishop of Berlin, so also will he presumably receive the title of cardinal after a short time. This also is not imperative, but the pope will surely want to have a bishop from the GDR in his college of cardinals, and there again no one but the Berlin bishop and chairman of the Berlin Bishops' Conference could be considered. Yet, they are not looking merely for a "political bishop," a prince of the church, but a priest gifted as a pastor and well-versed as a theologian. It will certainly be difficult if not impossible to find an adequate successor to the excellent Cardinal Bengsch, yet he is the one with whom the new bishop of Berlin will be compared.

The selection of the new bishop of Berlin also exhibits legal peculiarities. After the death of the bishop of Berlin, Cardinal Bengsch, the cathedral chapter at first took charge of the diocese which, since 1972, as an exempt diocese has been subordinated directly to the Holy See. As stipulated in the 1970 concordat between the Free State of Prussia and the Holy See, which laid the legal foundation for formation of the Berlin diocese in 1930 and which is still in effect, the cathedral provost, five capitulars in residence and one not in residence belong to the cathedral chapter at St Hedwig in Berlin. At present, these are four West Berliners (Cathedral Provost Haendly and the prelates Klausener, Albs and Tobei), two East Berliners (Suffragan Bishop Kleineidam and Prelate Schmitz) and a non-resident capitular from the GDR, Ecclesiastical Counselor Wessels from Demmin. After the bishop's death, the cathedral chapter elected Suffragan Kleineidam as chapter vicar. As jurisdictional representative, he is in charge of the diocese until a new bishop is named.

The cathedral chapter must now elect a new diocesan bishop according to the provisions of canon law applicable to the Berlin diocese. The Prussian Concordat decrees that the cathedral chapter "as well as Prussia's diocesan archbishops and bishops submit to the Holy See a list of canonically eligible candidates." In this particular case this means that not only the Berlin cathedral chapter submits a list of candidates to the Holy See, but also all resident bishops whose dioceses are located in the territory of the former state of Prussia--hence also the archbishops of Cologne and Paderborn as well as the bishops of Aachen, Limburg, Muenster, Osnabrueck, Trier,

Essen, Fulda and Hildesheim--send lists of proposed candidates to Rome, unless they want to submit a negative report. Moreover, the Holy See also has at hand lists of candidates from the bishops' conferences. According to the guidelines "concerning candidates for appointment to the office of bishop in the Latin church," which were issued in 1972 in compliance with the dictates of the Second Vatican Council, the bishops' conferences are urged to transmit annually to the Holy See the names of candidates who appear suited for the office of bishop and who are determined by secret ballot.

Taking into consideration all these proposals, the Holy See then names for the Berlin cathedral chapter three persons, one of whom it must select as the new bishop by free, secret vote. It is theoretically possible that the Holy See's list of three contains none of the candidates who had been named by the cathedral chapter. Nevertheless, the chapter has to elect one of the three who are on Rome's list; he is then appointed by the pope as the new bishop of Berlin.

According to the Prussian Concordat

According to the stipulations of the Prussian Concordat of 1929, which is still in force for the area of the FRG including West Berlin, the cathedral chapter must secure from the proper Land government--in this case the West Berlin Senat--its consent to the appointment of the one chosen as bishop of Berlin. The relevant stipulation of the Prussian Concordat reads: "The Holy See will not appoint anyone as archbishop or bishop unless, after the election the chapter has determined by means of inquiry with the Prussian State Government that there are no political doubts about him." Since the GDR does not recognize the validity of either the Reich Concordat of 1933 or the Prussian Concordat of 1929, the Berlin cathedral chapter cannot ask the GDR state authorities for a vote of assent on the bishop. There is no legal foundation for codetermination by the GDR government in the selection of the Berlin bishop. The GDR Constitution provides for strict separation of church and state. The "Handbook of the German Democratic Republic," recently published in Leipzig, say in the section on the Catholic Church: "The government does not interfere in bishops' appointments and similar issues." But following established practice, the GDR government is officially informed prior to publication of the new bishop's name, and the new bishop of Berlin will notify the GDR government in writing upon taking charge of the diocese.

There is much speculation as to who the new bishop of Berlin will be. Some say the pope will appoint one of the bishops from the GDR; others believe that he will be a theology professor. But almost all are in agreement that, as in Muenster, the pope will appoint a young bishop. Most frequently named among the bishops is the present chapter vicar, Suffragan Kleineidam. He is 44 years old and was ordained a bishop in 1970 by Cardinal Bengsch. But Kleineidam is considered primarily a minister. Bishop Theissing, apostolic administrator in Schwerin, has also been considered a possible candidate ever since he gave the funeral sermon for Cardinal Bengsch during

the pontifical requiem at East Berlin's St Hedwig's Cathedral. Sixty-two years of age, he became suffragan of Berlin in 1963, and from 1967 to 1970 he was vicar general for the eastern part of the diocese. Indeed, his age speaks against him. The same holds true for the 60-year-old suffragan in Magdeburg, Theo Hubrich. Hubrich, ordained a bishop in 1975, directed until 1972 as charity director the Berlin central office of the German [Catholic] Charity Organization Society. For reasons of age also, little hope is held out for the Bishop of Meissen, Schaffran, who is vice-chairman of the Berlin Bishops' Conference. Bishop Schaffran is 67 years old. Hence, the search for candidates must necessarily look beyond the Berlin Bishops' Conference. The priests' seminary in Erfurt and the pastoral college in Huysburg thereby come into the field of view.

Whoever is convinced that the pope is likely to appoint a theology professor from the GDR as the new bishop of Berlin can also name names; for instance, that of the holder of the first dogmatics chair at the priests' seminary, in Erfurt, officiating professor Lothar Ullrich. Born in 1932 in Berlin, Ullrich is a priest of the Berlin diocese. After his studies in Erfurt where he graduated, he was subregent in Huysburg, regent in Erfurt and rector of philosophical-theological studies in Erfurt during the academic year 1976/77. Professor Ullrich is thought of as a man who would continue the church policy of Cardinal Bengsch.

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CSG: 2300

DEVELOPMENT OF GDR AID POLICY IN AFRICA REVIEWED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 34 No 10, 2 Mar 80 pp 42, 43, 45, 47, 49, 52, 54, 56, 59, 61 DW

[DER SPIEGEL cover story: "Honecker's Africa Corps: Auxiliary Troops for Moscow's Power Strategy--'We Have Sent You Arms and Bread'"]

[Text] With voluminous military and economic aid to liberation movements and leftist governments in Africa the GDR has moved up to the position of a successful partner in Soviet power strategy in the Third World. At the same time East Berlin utilizes its involvement for its own economic policy and its policy on Germany --to the disadvantage of Bonn.

Rhodesian guerrilla leader Joshua Nkomo counts Erich Honecker among his "best friends." Mozambique's head of state Samora Machel praises in the chairman of the GDR Council of State "the great analytical clarity by which an outstanding leader of the international revolutionary movement excels."

Col Mengistu Haile Mariam, chief of the Ethiopian military regime, as a "beginner in the revolutionary struggle" does not dare "put himself on the same level with such outstanding communists (like Honecker)," and the secretary general of the Organization for African Unity (OAU), Edem Kodjo, praises the general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany as a prudent leader "of one of the world's most powerful nations."

It seems that the supreme East German has many fans in Africa. Erich Honecker, who in the nearly 9 years of his term did not get around much in the world, visited the black continent twice last year, and wherever he went he met with cordial reception.

In the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa the cheering crowd serenaded him with the chorus: "Erich Honecker, a comrade of our revolution, a friend of our people." In Angolan Lwanda a "lane of friendship" lined the itinerary of the state quest, young pioneers decorated "Camarada Presidente" with a scarf in the red-black national colors of the country, the masses shouted "viva" and waved with flags.



The visitors compensated so much warmth with presents full of meaning: to the working people of the Angolan transport sector he gave a wall hanging with the picture of KPD leader Ernst Thaelmann, who once had been a laundry and furniture driver in Hamburg, woven in. Samora Machel received a banner of honor of the SED Central Committee, and as presents for Kenneth Kaunda the chairman of the Council of State took along to Zambia a cassette with the "Communist Manifesto" in 20 languages as well as a Karl Marx bust.

And in Socialist Ethiopia the comrade from East Berlin laid the cornerstone for the first monument for Karl Marx ("The greatest son of the German people") on the African continent.

Yet with banners and busts alone the friendship cannot be preserved with countries which are among the poorest on earth and of which some still are the theater of warlike conflicts.

What the East German state really has to offer its African friends and what makes it so attractive as a partner was praised by Honecker--with unusual frankness--last November in the training camp of the Ethiopian people militia "Tatek" ("Arm yourselves"): "Yes, the GDR did not hesitate for a moment when it was necessary to send you arms, to send you bread."

More arms than bread. Carefully at first, but then more and more nonchalantly, the GDR has been trying for years to make itself indispensable with its kind of development aid at the points of crisis on the African continent, for the liberation movements in the south as well as for the revolutionaries on the Red Sea.

In the late sixties already, when Bonn still successfully prevented the diplomatic recognition of the second German state in Africa, the GDR put its stakes on those who could not expect much from the West--guerrilla organizations such as the MPLA in Angola or the FRELIMO in Mozambique who waged embittered guerrilla warfare against the colonial rule of NATO state Portugal.

East Berlin readily delivered to the underground fighters, who accepted aid wherever it came from, infantry arms and ammunition from the excess stocks of the National People's Army (NVA).

In 1972, when the GDR became internationally acceptable in foreign policy for good after the basic treaty with the Federal Republic, the Kremlin leadership instructed the East Germans to look after the "progressive and revolutionary forces" (Honecker) in Africa systematically now.

The loyal GDR appeared to be perfectly suited for the role of substitute by proxy. Unlike the Soviets nobody could suspect it of imperialist inclinations; but at the same time the experts from Dresden, Leipzig, or East Berlin lived on the reputation of German efficiency which is still unbroken in the Third World.

The comrades fulfilled with diligence and dexterity the plan target set for them by Moscow. Today the GDR is maintaining diplomatic relations with 46 of the 49 states of the OAU, GDR ambassadors reside in 21 countries, and 13 African states have a diplomatic mission in the German Democratic Republic. Liberation movements such as the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, the SWAPO of Namibia, and South Africa's ANC are accredited in East Berlin with bureaus of their own.

Between 1969 the GDR granted development aid to Africa in the amount of \$440 million (the Federal Republic: 4.2 billion). At the moment 15 friendship brigades of the SED Youth Organization FDJ are on assignments in nine countries--they are repairing coffee peeling machines in Angola, training bricklayers in Guinea-Nissau, and building the first obstetrics station of the former Portuguese colony on Sao Tome and Principe.

At home in the enterprises active functionaries and trade union representatives collect solidarity donations from the working people, most recently about M150 million a year. With these proceeds urgently needed aid materials--ranging from school exercise books up to vaccines--are bought for the partners in the Congo, in Benin, Sao Tome and Principe, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and Angola.

What accounts for the biggest hunk in the East German Africa budget, however, is the military aid. At present, 2,700 advisers and instructors of the National People's Army are severing in two Arab and five black African countries; 1,000 officers and noncommissioned officers are stationed in Angola alone, the rest being distributed over Mozambique, Ethiopia, Zambia, Congo, Algeria and Libya.

The GDR made it clear to its proteges from the very outset that it is not prepared to send complete combat units, to be sure. Reports--mostly launched by the South African intelligence Service "DONS"--according to which a complete motorized infantry regiment of the NVA with 3,500 men had been flown to the Angolan oil exclave of Cabinda, or saying that a special component of the "Willy Saenger" paratrooper battalion is combatting the rebels of Eritrea in Ethiopia, are rejected by Western security experts as propaganda tales.

Still, the assignment of the military people from the East German state is considered highly effective, even better than the assistance of the Cubans who are active in Africa with as many as 35,000 soldiers and who decided the civil war for the MPLA in Angola 4 years ago.

Unlike Fidel Castro's soldiers who often display a lack of discipline, who frequently become involved in brawls and in affairs with women and, according to FRG military experts, "occasionally are killed behind the bar by the natives," the comrades from the GDR insure discipline and decent deportment.

Thus the NVA cadres on purpose desist from wearing rank insignia on their neutral khaki uniforms, and while the advisers from the Soviet Union exclusively reserve leadership positions for themselves, the German are prepared to train the personnel.

Moscow's military leaders indeed honor so much engagement: In Ethiopia they have assigned to their brothers in arms from the GDR the operational planning for the offensive of the government troops against the rebels in Eritrea; in Angola GDR officers increasingly are moving up into leadership positions thus far held by Cubans.

Apart from drilling militia personnel and regular armed forces the development helpers of the NFA above all look after logistics, army engineering service, and military signal service.

In Ethiopia they are teaching at the school for tank troops and do the maintenance on the electronic equipment of the air force; in Angola they are setting up the signal corps and instruct the offsprings of the Katanga gendarms, who invaded the Zaire Province of Shaba (Katanga), in the war trade. GDR specialists drilled the guerrilla fighters of the Patriotic Front and of the SWAPO which operated in Zimbabwe and in Namibia from Angola, Zambia, and Mozambique.

Yet East Berlin is not only sending army personnel. Specialists of the "Felix Dzierzynski" elite regiment, which is not subordinated to Defense Minister Heinz Hoffmann but to State Security Chief Erich Mielke, also are making themselves useful in Africa. Just as they did formerly in Cuba they are now setting up national security services in Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia after the tested pattern--for the campaign against putchists, saboteurs and traitors.

In Mozambique they are training the 200-men bodyguard of President Machel, and the experienced comrades worked out for the military regime in Addis Ababa plans for the administration of socialist justice.

At the same time the state security experts are watching over the state loyalty of the people's army personnel in the distance. And successfully so: While there are deserters in the Cuban corps time and again, so far not a single NVA man has deserted his unit.

Even though the Unity Party Socialists no longer seek to keep their military aid secret to their own party people as they had done before, the GDR media still keeps silent about the type and volume of the military aid.

Still, the SED cannot suppress worried inquiries from among the people, especially since some People's Army members already had to pay with their lives for their assignment on behalf of proletarian internationalism when they, like in the south of Angola, stepped on a mine or inadvertently ran into an ambush of hostile guerrillas with their faithful followers.

Thus LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG published the letter of a female reader who wanted to know whether it would not be better in the interest of world peace and disarmament "not to send any soldiers into the crisis regions" from

socialist countries. The SED paper rejected these objections--saying that the socialist community cannot "allow imperialism to do as it pleases."

Military assistance on the spot is supplemented with a voluminous service at home in the GDR. For 4 years now East Berlin has kept its regular officer and police schools open for students from Africa?

Angolans are in training with the paratrooper battalion 40 in Prora on the Baltic Sea island of Ruegen;

Congolese personnel are learning with the people's navy at the "Karl Liebknecht" officer school in Stralsund;

Libyans are training in Stralsund and with the VNA air force in Kamenz near Bautzen.

Guerrillas of the Patriotic Front from Zimbabwe, too, had themselves trained at GDR drill grounds. And the "Friedrich Lis" transport school in Dresden, department for "military transport and communications," is training African signal and logistics specialists. At home again, the young officers are welcome interpreters and liaison men for the NVA instructors in the country.

The Soviet Union reserves for itself the training of staff officers. Under the division of labor in the Warsaw Pact the East Germans primarily are to convey to the lower ranks a "technically clean drill" (a West German expert on the GDR)--including ideological instruction.

The police training at the "Wilhelm Pieck" officer school in Aschersleben is considered a special GDR specialty. In short training courses of 3 months, or in 3 years of officer studies, hundreds of candidates from Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, or the People's Republic of Yemen are currently taught in special classes of up to 20 men. Likewise in Aschersleben Interior Minister Friedrich Dickel has Somalis trained as personnel for the administration of justice.

In early May 1976 already, Adre Petroff, general commander of the Angolan border police, as the guest in East Berlin familiarized himself "with experiences of the German people's police in the reliable protection of the worker-peasant power" (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND).

Erich Mielke, too, is organizing rapid courses for African colleagues, for instance, from Angola and Ethiopia. And even though East German specialists assisted Idi Amin's notorious secret service men with advice, the new rulers in Uganda after the overthrow of the dictator in the spring of last year did not shrink back from sending 50 former Amin soldiers to the GDR for "reorientation."

The care for the guests is exemplary. Thus the scholarship holder, who mostly are in their early twenties, upon their arrival in the SED Republic first learn German for 6 months at the foreign language school of the People's Army at Naumburg. Necessary clothing such as winter coats is supplied by the hosts, as is spending money in the amount of M300 per month, an amount which is rather opulent by GDR standards.

Yet the SED prefers to keep its proteges away from the East German people. Contacts outside the barracks are seldom, yet it does happen that an African takes a GDR girl citizen home into the bush.

Compared with the generous training program the arms deliveries of the GDR to Black Africa appear to be relatively modest. While Moscow between 1973 and 1978 shipped military equipment worth \$2.34 billion to 22 African countries, the rather poorly developed arms industry of the GDR at best exports equipment worth M200 million a year: Mostly infantry arms such as the "Kalashnikov" automatic rifle from Erfurt, mortars light artillery, haversacks, ammunition pouches, and uniforms.

Defense Minister Heinz Hoffmann, having returned from an inspection tour of Ethiopia, enthusiastically praised: "We saw thousands of sons of the former slaves and landless peasants exercising assault with the submachine gun and the steel helmets from the GDR."

The people's army also gives away what is dispensable from Soviet stocks. When Hoffmann called on Joshua Nkomo in the latter's headquarters in Zambia with some East German officers in May last year he generously promised the guerrillas Soviet artillery and antiaircraft missiles.

The arms transports to Africa are organized by the state bureau for "industrial-technical foreign trade" in Berlin-Pankow which is subordinated to the deputy defense minister, Col Gen Werner Fleissner, who is responsible for "armament and technical equipment" in the NVA. If the GDR freighters carrying the war material have to call on Western or neutral ports en route, for instance because of a necessary repair, the ship command produces harmless looking bills of lading; arms are declared as "spare parts," vehicles as "agricultural machines."

The regional shift in the GDR's activities in Africa during the past few years shows how much the GDR is combining its arms assistance with strategic goals of the Warsaw Pact.

In the beginning the SED sought contacts with those states which--like Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Congo, or Nasir's Egypt--embarked on an anti-Western course and, therefore, seemed to be prepared to recognize East Berlin diplomatically. Today the relations with the countries where the diplomatic breakthrough had succeeded are not the best anymore. In some cases the regime changed, in some cases East Berlin lost interest, or the GDR failed to measure up to the expectations which the African partners had placed in the SED.



It was just impossible to elbow the utterly powerful competition from Bonn out of business in the long run with office furniture for Ivory Coast, 50,000 mathematics textbooks for the schools of Guinea, surgery instruments for Sudan, but also with state printing shops for Ghana and Mali or fishing boats for Tanzania.

Since the beginning of the seventies the East Germans therefore have been concentrating on geographic key positions: The exit from the Red Sea can be controlled from Ethiopia, and the East Bloc can exert influence future changes in Namibia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa from Angola and Mozambique.

Should the elections in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia instead of the pro-Western Bishop Abel Muzorewa bring to power the guerrilla leaders Nkomo and Mugabe, it could happen in Salisbury what had happened before in Luanda and Maputo: the government power would be held by a national liberation movement that has been actively supported in the years of its fighting by the GDR and its allies.

The Africa strategists of GDR headquarters predict that in such a case the East would have gained a lead over the West that will be hard to make for.

With Sam Nujoma's SWAPO in Namibia and Oliver Tambo's South African National Congress (ANC), the SED has two more alliance partners in reserve who may soon become the first leadership echelon of their country.

In order to keep open for the Warsaw Pact an access to the considerable raw material reserves in Southern Africa, and to possibly safeguard in the long run control over the strategically important Cape route, the GDR does not shy back from all kinds of efforts--even if it must make economic sacrifices.

What the African allies are lacking is usually not possessed by East Berlin either in abundance: food, textiles and machines.

Angola received in 3 years more than 5,000 trucks of the type IFA W-50 from Ludwigsfelde--at home, however, Gerhard Briska, minister for trade and supply, for a long time is asking in vain for modernization of his out-dated motor pool.

More than 1,000 tractors from Schoenebeck work in the fields of Ethiopia; excavators, combines, chopping machines and swath mowing machines are shipped to Mozambique.

As a rule the machines from national enterprises do not live long in a hot and damp climate, operated by black chauffeurs who tend to drive in a rough way in the difficult terrain. Since the IFA 5-ton trucks with their high wheels often fall over and cause grave accidents, Mozambique's Agricultural Minister Mario de Graca Machungo ordered that they must be driven only on good roads--although just a few of them exist in the country.



Maintenance is also a problem: As late as in last April East German mechanics began to set up in Addis Ababa on a 5,000 square meter area a repair plant for trucks, tractors, combines, forklifts, emergency aggregates and water pumps. The repair shop has training rooms for local skilled workers and later on it is supposed to be fully taken over by the Ethiopians.

In order to bring the assistance material to the shore as quickly as possible, the GDR is supplying complete port installations; cranes from Eberswalde and Babelsberg as well as grain silos from Leipzig; they provide good good transshipment capacities in Luanda. GDR pilots bring the ship to the pier. During his state visit last year, Honecker promised his hosts in Mozambique to generously enlarge the port of Nacalla.

When the Angolan MPLA after the withdrawal of the Portuguese in early 1976 was strongly pressured by its rivals, the FLNA and the UNITA, the East Berlin sponsors sent within 5 months 7,500 tons of food, 1,200 tons of textiles and 450 tons of medicines.

On their flight back, the Interflug planes transported people who were wounded in the war to be taken care of in GDR hospitals. East German physicians in the meantime were rebuilding in Luanda a physiotherapy and rehabilitation center which had been dismantled by the Portuguese.

Even when the MPLA and FRELIMO were sitting firmly in their saddle, the Germans got active quickly when there was an emergency. Experts of the Hohenwarte pump reservoir repaired the flooded hydropower plant in Angolan Mabubas at the Dande River; after a mining accident in the hard coal area of Moatize (Mozambique), East German miners descended into the mines and installed first of all security installations according to international standards.

In contrast to the Russians who like to stress the gentleman in dealing with the blacks, GDR experts work themselves also when a dangerous job is being performed. In October last year four East Germans were torn to pieces by a blind shell in Mozambique when they wanted to fix a truck that had been involved in an accident.

The assistance, however, is not absolutely free of charge. Next to assurances of friendship (Mozambique's President Machel: "The GDR is like a homeland for us") East Berlin also expects economic advantages--in the form of raw materials that can be obtained somewhere else only for expensive foreign currency.

Mozambique last year sent a first shipment of 1,000,000 tons of valuable hard coal; from Angola comes copper, oil and one fifth of the coffee that is being consumed in the GDR.

Sometimes the comrades do not even shy back from undisguised exploitation: They traded 580 trucks against 15,000 tons of Ethiopian coffee--which would

amount to a price of 180,000 marks [currency not otherwise identified] for every 5-ton truck. The socialist tradesmen were messing up for years the balance of payment of Ghana's leftist regime, because they were buying cocoa at dumping prices and selling it cheaply on the world market.

The GDR does not like to give reconstruction credits payable in dollars, conditions--as a rule 2.5 percent interest over a period of 12 years--are worse than in the West: The Federal Republic usually grants a repayment time of 50 years (interest rate 0.75 percent) and recently it has changed credits into contributions. Socialist Tanzania in 1970 was so enraged by the high interest rates of East Berlin that the government ousted the GDR consul from Sansibar on the grounds that the People's Republic of China does not demand interest for its credits.

Economically seen, the GDR engagement remains a losing business. Economic and trade policy interests are not the decisive motive for the East German presence, the share Black Africa holds in GDR foreign trade is absolutely minimum. Except for the three center points Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia, only Ghana, the People's Republic of Congo, Nigeria and Tanzania appear in the foreign trade statistics of East Berlin.

Since the GDR because of the constantly growing supply problems in its own country is not in a position to offer massive economic assistance to noncapitalist developing countries, which in Black Africa belong to the most backward in the Third World, it rather concentrates--similar to military assistance--on assistance in the domestic setup of the state.

In Gruenheide next to Berlin, in a home of the trade union federation, FDGB, some 60 to 70 technicians, scientists, pedagogues and journalists permanently make preparations for their work in Africa. In 6-month courses they learn most of all the languages of the former colonial masters: English, French and Portuguese.

The decision to give fraternal help does not always come of its own. Sometimes the SED commands insubordinate cadres to go there to stand their test. Guenter Lehmann, a professor of criminal law in Babelsberg, has been sent to Africa as a justice adviser. He had told his students the thesis that criminality probably will never die out even in socialism.

When Prosecutor General Josef Streit learned about the heretic opinion, he complained to the rector. Lehmann was promptly suspended. He learned a bit later that he had been enrolled for language training in Gruenheide.

As a rule, however, the advisers sent there are carefully selected comrades on whose loyalty one can rely. "They do not send adventurer types," reported a Western development helper about his Eastern colleagues.

The stay in Africa is not a risk for GDR experts. They continue obtaining their salary at home, their job is being kept open for them, an even in

desperately poor guest countries consumer desires can be fulfilled that are hard to fulfill at home. In Addis Ababa, for example, a GDR teacher bought half a dozen American jeans right after his arrival.

The East German Journalist Association (VJD) deserves special praise with regard to training black cadres in a "school of solidarity" in Friedrichshagen at the outskirts of Berlin. Hundreds of visitors from the Third World learn not merely the journalistic profession there. Sonja Brie, the director of the school, says that they should later on reflect "the convincing power of real socialism."

The result of the half-year course usually shows the desired effect. When his training had come to an end an Ethiopian journalist trainee praised the apprentice paper of his guest country: "Really, the GDR is on its way to becoming a paradise because you do not find a hungry man, a beggar or an unemployed person. There are only peaceful, well-fed and well-clad people."

VJD editors train the young people also in their own countries. Training and continuous training courses exist in the People's Republic of Congo, in Ethiopia, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. East Berlin often supplies also a state printing house free of charge.

The West Germans feel the consequences of such media policy. When the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation, which is close to the SPD, in 1979 in the Tanzanian town Arusha held a conference on the perspectives of German-African relations, the government paper DAILY NEWS thought that the meeting was hardly worth a line. Instead the paper reported on page 1 on a press conference of the West German anti-apartheid movement that had taken place months ago on the repeatedly stated nuclear cooperation between Bonn and Pretoria.

Asked about it, Information Minister Isaac Sepetu, a frequent guest in East Berlin and married to a GDR citizen, just pointed out the press freedom existing in his country.

The pets of the SED Central Committee department "International Connections" under Politburo member Hermann Axen are the "ambassadors in blue shirts," friendship brigades of the youth association FDJ. Only in Angola five brigades--each of them consisting of 20 to 30 manually skilled comrades--train local skilled workers, mainly drivers of IFA trucks and auto mechanics.

The group of 150 bearers of blue shirts," reported NEUES DEUTSCHLAND proudly, "prepared and carried out maintenance work in the past 2 years for 13,337 trucks of various types, 1,200 coffee processing installations, 691 generators and 827 stationary diesel engines." In 20,966 voluntary work hours these "heralds of solidarity" fixed water pipes or corn, manioc and oil

For 6 months the development helpers made preparations in the FDJ college "Wilhelm Pieck" for their work in Africa. Volunteers who are tired of the monotonous life in the GDR have no chance: Only those are being taken who are considered worthy by the SED bezirk managements and by plants. And "since there have been also traitors" (an FDJ functionary), who used the African trip to flee to the West, the Ministry for State Security is always involved.

Prior to the departure from Berlin-Schoenefeld, FDJ Central Council representatives urge the young comrades once more to avoid Western contacts, particularly with the Federal Germans. If somebody is being involved in a discussion with an "FRG citizen," he must react formally. "Please approach our embassy with your questions," a GDR technicians said to a West German journalist in Mozambique.

The expenditures that are enormous by GDR standards with regard to personnel, services and material subsidies pay off politically. Last year Erich Honecker was cashing in the interest for his investments: in Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique, the chairman of the State Council for the first time concluded treaties on "friendship and cooperation" with countries outside the bloc of socialist states.

"These treaties," said Deputy Foreign Minister Klaus Willerding happily, "reflect the new quality that has begun to take shape with regard to the character of relations between the GDR and a number of African states."

Honecker really succeeded to make nominally nonaligned development countries some sort of quasi members of the socialist community. With regard to their foreign political status there is little difference between such states as Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique and Cuba, Vietnam--or Afghanistan.

The preambles of the agreements say that state relations are based "on the principles of Marxism-Leninism," on "proletarian internationalism" and on "the anti-imperialist alliance." These are formulas which even without an assistance or intervention clause could offer a pretext in an emergency to interfere helpfully in the internal affairs of the partner.

As if they were Moscow's satellites, Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique voted in the UN General Assembly against the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan. Such countries as Algeria, Benin, Congo, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Sao Tome and Zambia, who have been exploiting the benevolence of East Germany for years, abstained after all.

From Samora Machel in Mozambique Honecker even received the legitimation under international law for the military presence of the East German state in Africa. Article 5 commits the parties of the treaty "in the interest of strengthening the defense ability...to settle cooperation in the military field through bilateral agreements."

Other "noncapitalist" partners did not want to be embraced that strongly: Libya's Qadhafi, permanently addressed as "comrade" by Honecker, only envisaged a friendship agreement. He irritated his guest in February 1979 at a festive dinner in Tripoli by pointing out ideological and social-political differences.

The GDR exploits the appearances of its first man in Africa not only to stand its test as the governor of the Soviets. The foreign politicians from East Berlin know very well how to "link their own interests in the economic and German-policy field with the power policy interests of Moscow," as was stated in a study of Bonn's All-German Institute.

Similar to the Federal Republic which in the sixties was proud when an African state agreed on paper to the reunification claim, the GDR is recently pressing for putting down its interpretation of German-German relations. The communique that has been signed by Honecker and Machel in February last year in Maputo, states that for relations between the GDR and the Federal Republic of Germany "the principles of international law are valid according to the final document of Helsinki"--and not the basic treaty between both German states.

"It is our aim," said an East German ambassador to his West German colleague in an African country, "to destroy Bonn's Berlin clause."

The Federal Government does not always react calmly to Eastern efforts to carry out Inter-German quarrels on African territory.

West German diplomats are always prepared to make a demarche if "the canned stuff is involved," as a Foreign Ministry member put it. The consequences sometimes are grotesque.

In 1978, for example, Bonn was holding back a shipload full of rice slated for Guinea-Bissau that was stricken by famine, because the small state refused to sign the Berlin formula contained in the supply contract ("...this agreement is also valid for the land Berlin"), (see chart).

The Bonn diplomats, however, try to avoid open rivalry. The mission chiefs have orders not to fight intra-German feuds in the guest country, but to keep normal social relations with their GDR colleagues. At least in emergency situations the East Berlin representatives accept German-German community.

Bonn's Ambassador Peter Metzger helped out his colleague Helmut Plettner in 1979 "occasionally with half a sack of rice," when food supply collapsed there in the confusion of civil war. When Tanzanian soldiers last year had captured Idi Amin's capital Kampala, East Berlin's abandoned embassy burned down--the West Germans saved the slightly burned flag with hammer and compass and sent it to the GDR Foreign Ministry.



But wherever the GDR believes to be strong, it thinks little of fine diplomatic manners.

In Guinea, for example, East Berlin's emissaries in 1970 passed faked dossiers to President Sekou Toure about an alleged West German involvement in putsch plans. In Ethiopia they were involved when Bonn's Mission Chief Johann Christian Lankes was expelled in 1978. The minister of the chancellor's office Hans Juergen Wischniewski complained in vain about the intrigue to the then GDR representative in Bonn, Michael Kohl.

The Bonn people know that these jokes of the East German competitors are the consequence of their own neglects. The liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies first wanted to have talks with the West--without success. When in 1971 MPLA Chief Agostinho Neto campaigned in Bonn for sympathy and help, the then SPD Federal Manager Wischniewski was the only high-ranking politician who acted for the rebellious guerrilla leader.

"The West has missed a chance there," the SPD vice chairman says today, "one could have exerted more pressure on Portugal."

East Berlin did not hesitate to fill the gap--and it demonstrated with its African policy to the Federal Government how early investments in liberation movements can pay off politically.

With their foreign political successes in Southern Africa and at the Horn, the East Germans increased their weight in the Warsaw Pact and expanded their political leeway vis-a-vis their Moscow liegelords. With regard to its own youth, the SED with its solidarity campaigns for the Third World creates a revolutionary spirit that has long ago stiffened in bureaucracy and consumption socialism in its own country. In addition the economic planners have skillfully linked the long-term raw material interests of the GDR with the political-strategic intentions of the Soviet Union.

Yet, the African policy of the GDR could soon meet its limits. As welcome as anti-imperialist solidarity may be in civil wars and guerrilla fights--as soon as conditions have normalized the preference of the people in power in the young national states begin to change: financial and economic assistance become more important than military assistance.

The development that is in the offing in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia could become a test. First signs indicate already that the two chief partisans, Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, begin to maintain a careful distance with regard to their Eastern friends: although the Soviets and the East Germans advised them to fight the civil war until a final victory had been achieved, they joined the Western concept aiming for a peaceful solution.

The front-line states Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique and Angola show undisguised satisfaction with regard to the truce--their economic development has been suffering hard from 7 years of bush war and the Rhodesian boycott by the United Nations.



The Russian invasion in Afghanistan drastically demonstrated to the Africans what consequences can be entailed by friendship and assistance treaties with the East. When Bonn's SPD Deputy Horst Ehmke was making probes in Zambia in January, he met Kenneth Kaunda "who was severely shocked" (Ehmke) by the Soviet invasion.

And also Honecker's friend Nkomo does not believe that he is committed to his comrades-in-arms with eternal gratitude once the fight has come to an end and economic development will begin.

He told a West German visitor: Some "patting on the shoulder" is probably all he can expect from the GDR.

CSO: 2300

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### CLOSER TIES WITH ETHIOPIA, PDRY DISCUSSED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 25 No 2, Feb 80 signed to press 3 Jan 80 pp 17-24

[Article by Peter Kulbe and Dieter Sasse, GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs: "Allied in Close Fighting Partnership With Socialist Ethiopia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen"]

[Text] A GDR party and state delegation headed by SED Central Committee General Secretary and GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker paid official friendship visits to socialist Ethiopia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen between 12 and 17 November 1979. These high-level visits of those two closely allied countries on the Horn of Africa and the Arab peninsula were high points in the GDR's relations with socialist Ethiopia and the PDRY. They made an important contribution to bolstering and deepening the friendly collaboration and anti-imperialist solidarity between the GDR and the African and Arab peoples.

After the visits to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Zambia and the People's Republic of Mozambique in February 1979, this second trip to Africa and the Middle East in 1979--as Erich Honecker analyzed it in his Politburo report to the 11th SED Central Committee session--impressively demonstrated the logic and consequence of the GDR's Africa policy and its attitude toward the Arab peoples' basic issues. It at the same time demonstrated the continuity of the socialist, anti-imperialist peace policy and, furthermore, underlined the great importance the GDR attaches to fortifying the natural alliance between the states in the socialist community and the national states of socialist orientation.

The delegation returned with unforgettable impressions of the great efforts undertaken by the peoples of Ethiopia and the PDRY in their resolute endeavor, filled with revolutionary spirit and enthusiasm, to overcome their feudal-capitalist and colonialist legacy and to construct a new society, free from exploitation and suppression. In both countries it could convince itself that the revolution is deeply rooted in the hearts of the people despite all the great difficulties that must still

be faced. The meetings with the Ethiopian and Yemeni working people showed their firm resolve to continue consistently the road taken toward social progress alongside the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries.

Erich Honecker and Mengistu Haile-Mariam, in laying the corner stone for the first Karl Marx monument on African soil, in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa, not only testified to the revolutionary changes in Ethiopia itself, it also marked the historic magnitude of the awakening of the peoples all over the continent.

"It shows," as Erich Honecker put it in his speech on the occasion of this solemn act, "that millions of people in Africa have begun to consider Marxism-Leninism a signpost in their just struggle for national and social liberation."<sup>1</sup>

The great cordiality with which the delegation was received by the working masses and leadership in both countries attests to the high respect and confidence shown the GDR, its people and its leadership.

What is receiving all this much appreciation is the outcome of the efforts by the working people of our republic in shaping the developed socialist society as well as the GDR's active work for consolidating peace and security in Europe and everywhere in the world and the consistent solidary support the GDR people has given to the African and Arab peoples' national and social liberation struggle.

But not only in the countries visited are the GDR and its policy seen like that. When SED Central Committee General Secretary and GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker visited the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, OAU General Secretary Edem Kodjo, in the presence of the OAU member countries' mission chiefs, announced that the OAU general secretariat was "the place where tribute should be paid the GDR for its valuable contribution to the freedom struggle in Africa."<sup>2</sup>

He paid tribute to the efforts and sacrifices of the GDR, its people and the SED in supporting the liberation movements in implementing the ideals and goals of OAU. At OAU headquarters Erich Honecker once again confirmed the GDR's readiness to cooperate in friendship and for mutual benefit with all OAU member states. He affirmed that "the African peoples and states can also always in the future rely on the socialist GDR as a faithful friend and reliable ally in their just struggle for national and social liberation and for consolidating their national sovereignty and obtaining their economic independence."<sup>3</sup>

This meeting is of fundamental importance to the further development of GDR relations with Africa's states and liberation movements.

Not only in the media of Ethiopia and the PDRY but also in those of many other African and Arab states was broad attention given to that trip.

Altogether there was much international attention paid to it, as indicated by a worldwide press response. Even Western media could not help reporting or commenting on the continuity in the policy and the increasing respect of the GDR in Africa.

The fruitful results of the trip to Ethiopia and the PDRY are mainly reflected by the friendship and cooperation treaties Erich Honecker concluded with the Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council and the commander-in-chief of the revolutionary army of socialist Ethiopia, Mengistu Haile-Mariam, and with the Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee General Secretary and Presidium Chairman of the Supreme People's Council of the PDRY, 'Abd al-Fatah Isma'il.

These treaties reflect the high level of relations reached between the GDR and those states. They express their common intent to extend purposefully and further develop their close and confident collaboration in all areas. They range into the far distant future and are indeed of historic significance. Their collaboration, thus given a firm foundation, is based on the principles of the states' sovereign equality, territorial integrity, inviolability of borders, equal rights and noninterference in domestic affairs. They are written into both treaties which thereby also fully conform to the UN Charter. The GDR has explicitly approved both states' nonalignment policy, and those states in turn appreciate the peace-loving foreign policy of the GDR as implied in the nature of the socialist state. Simultaneously, the friendship and cooperation treaties with socialist Ethiopia and the PDRY create a stable foundation for their common struggle for common ideals, for peace, social progress, and against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, hegemonism, expansionism and racism in all their forms.

In the outcome of detailed and confident discussions in the meetings between the chiefs-of-state and in the official talks held by the delegations they headed, their "full agreement on all matters of international politics and of their fraternal bilateral relations" was reiterated.<sup>4</sup> On this basis, their cooperation will also further deepen in international organizations, as the heads of the delegations have agreed and as it has been set down in both treaties. It says the two sides would consult with each other on important international matters affecting the interests of both countries.<sup>5</sup> The focal point lies here of course on the most important issue for mankind, the ending of the arms race and the permanent safeguarding of peace. To that, the documents signed also are responsive. All three states thus have assumed the solemn obligation to continue their active contribution to the struggle for peace and international security and to make every effort to deepen and expand the process of detente, make general and complete disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, prevail, and advocate the settling of all international disputes by peaceful means.

The African and Arab states' constantly growing contribution to the consolidation of international security, arms limitation and disarmament is of immense importance. The GDR finds itself in complete agreement with most of these states. In referring to it, Erich Honecker said "that the struggle for peace has become a battlefield on which great decisions are being made for the future of humanity."<sup>6</sup>

Ethiopia and the PDRY are thus supporting without reservation, as it came out in the talks and crystallized in the joint communiques, the new peace initiative Leonid Brezhnev announced in Berlin because they know peace is the crucial basic precondition for their peoples' happy future. The Soviet initiative is regarded in Ethiopia as a sincere offering aimed at reducing worldwide tension with the purpose of promoting the cause of peace and the peoples' well-being.

'Abd al-Fatah Isma'il emphasized in this context that the PDRY also interpreted the Soviet Union's decision to reduce its armed forces and military equipment in the GDR as an expression of the GDR's sincere desire for consolidating peace and stability on the European continent.

Realizing that it is the hegemonial drive by imperialist and other forces which seriously blocks the extension of detente, both treaties condemn hegemonism as inadmissible in international relations.

By forming new military pacts and bases, expanding their military presence and creating so-called rapid deployment forces, reactionary imperialist circles seek to impose their will on sovereign states and turn them into "docile" objects of their striving for predominance. Not the peoples' desire to freely determine their destiny themselves endangers the peace, but it is the suppression of that desire by imperialism which does.

Erich Honecker made clear in the OAU headquarters that with respect to the south of Africa the socialist German state is concerned with the true independence of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, as advocated by the Patriotic Front and SWAPO as their legitimate representatives. Also with regard to these questions that are so important for Africa and the whole world, the GDR, Ethiopia and the PDRY represent wholly identical views.

At the same time Erich Honecker used his stay in the southern part of the Arab peninsula to confirm the GDR's position on a comprehensive and just solution for the Middle East conflict, for which most Arab states have the highest respect. As fundamental preconditions for it he called for Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and for insuring the inviolable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to its own state. The GDR and the PDRY underscored that a separate policy "opposes the fundamental interests of all Arab states and peoples" and causes new tension instead of the promised peace.<sup>7</sup>

The peoples at the Horn of Africa yearn for stable and permanent peace. The position on that by the GDR and by Ethiopia is clearly formulated in the joint communique on the visit in that country. Providing for such a peace requires active and sincere efforts. It must be based on the principles written into the UN Charter and the OAU Charter for the respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, the inviolability of borders and nonintervention in internal affairs. The vital interests of the Northeast African peoples are opposed by the continued activities of imperialist and reactionary forces. On the basis of this common concern, the GDR supports the initiatives of socialist Ethiopia for establishing friendly and good neighborly relations among all states in that region.

In view of the stronger attempts by imperialist circles, mainly those of the United States, to ignite tension in the area of the Gulf and of the Arab peninsula, and to secure, while threatening intervention, the power of disposition over the natural resources in that region for their own profit interests, the positions of principle taken on it by the GDR and the PDRY assume a special importance. Both sides resolutely oppose imperialism's increasing military designs in the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea and the Gulf area, which constitute an open threat to an independent development of the peoples in that region. The right of the peoples and states to dispose over their own resources freely was confirmed.

Erich Honecker stated for the GDR that it lets itself be guided strictly in its attitude toward the states on the Arab peninsula by the "principles of sovereign equality, equal rights, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual advantage." At the same time he remarked the GDR highly respected and appreciated "the culture-historic achievements and the humanistic faith of Islam and the contribution by Islamic states to the safeguarding of peace."<sup>8</sup>

The development of peaceful relations between the two Yemeni states on the basis of the accords of Kuwait and Sanaa was noted with gratification.

The GDR, true to its internationalist posture, has from the beginning stood by revolutionary Ethiopia and the Ethiopian people in its heroic struggle for a new society with human dignity, supporting it against the machinations by its internal counterrevolution and external reaction. Nothing in the future will change this position, as Erich Honecker affirmed in Addis Ababa. It came out in the talks with leading personalities and in the meetings with working people that the GDR's unselfish and rapid aid for the Ethiopian revolution will never be forgotten. Mengistu Haile-Mariam stressed that "the GDR belongs among the selfless friends who unflinchingly assisted the Ethiopian people's masses in those difficult days."<sup>9</sup> And both statesmen were able to affirm that their collaboration had met its acid test in the struggle against their common enemies.



The treaty system on the basis of which relations develop successfully is extensive and meant for long range. In the fields of trade, economic-technical and scientific-technical cooperation, consular, air traffic, planning and information affairs, sports and in other areas, this cooperation has been arranged through treaties, accords and agreements. Foreign economic relations have developed smoothly. Mutual trade has been boosted significantly. Ethiopia has become one of the GDR's important trade partners in Africa. The GDR supplies Ethiopia primarily with products of the metal processing industry including W-50 trucks, tractors, harvester-threshers and other farm machinery and equipment. It imports coffee, skins, fats, legumes, oil seeds and other products from Ethiopia.

When the party and state delegation visited Ethiopia, a long-term program was signed on the further development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation. From it, new impulses will arise for further deepening this cooperation. It is given a long-term basis thereby and defined in its chief trends. Other important documents on bilateral economic cooperation were also signed in the fields of geology, mining, agriculture and the textile industry.

In putting its economic relations with Ethiopia on a long-term basis, the GDR wishes to make an active contribution to the support of its national economic campaign. GDR lecturers, teachers, physicians, technicians and engineers are working in Ethiopia to help it surmount its feudal-capitalist legacy. Many Ethiopian citizens are getting training and advanced training at universities and technical schools and other educational institutions in the GDR so they will do effective work later on in the social and economic life of Ethiopia. This marks an important pillar in the cooperation between the two states.

Bilateral relations between the GDR and the PDRY--forged through their joint anti-imperialist struggle--have been developing smoothly for more than a decade. As the national-democratic revolution deepened in the PDRY, its close cooperation with the socialist GDR became more and more extensive. Important impulses for it came from the meetings between leading representatives of the two friendly nations.

A comprehensive system of state treaties, an active exchange of delegations and confident political consultations manifest the high stage of relations achieved between the two states.

A special role in the overall relations is played by the cooperation between the SED and the Yemeni Socialist Party. The agreements made during the visit between the SED and the YSP insures the continuity in the development of fraternal relations between the two parties.

The development of international contacts the YSP has maintained since its founding party congress in 1978 proves that it attributes great importance to an exchange of experience with the fraternal parties, and mainly

with the CPSU, for successfully putting into effect its program and statute, which are based on Marxist-Leninist principles. The delegation's visit of the College for Scientific Socialism under the YSP Central Committee, which also has SED members among its guest lecturers, became a manifestation of our close liaison.

Another significant result of the trip was the signing of a program for economic and scientific-technical cooperation up to 1985, on the basis of which our cooperation will deepen mainly in the areas of agriculture, industry, transportation and communications, education and public health and geology. These areas have already had good traditions for working jointly together. That became apparent when the party and state delegation visited the vocational training center established by the FDJ's Wilhelm Pieck friendship brigade and Yemeni friends of our youth. Technical cadres are trained there for agriculture. It helps the PDRY solve one of the most complicated developmental problems, the urgent need for skilled cadres.

'Abd al-Fatah Isma'il, in his speech before the working people on the third administrative council, paid tribute to the selfless and solidary assistance the GDR had given in various areas for lending the PDRY economic and social impetus. With reference to the work of GDR experts and physicians, the training of many Yemeni friends at GDR educational institutions, and the construction of industrial installations by the GDR in the PDRY, he observed that there are many proofs for and much evidence of how deep our relations are.

The great enthusiasm and cordiality, the comradely and confident atmosphere and the basic arrangements and fruitful result of the friendship visits to both countries impressively demonstrate this:

The GDR is allied in close fighting partnership with socialist Ethiopia and the PDRY. It is based on common goals and firm anti-imperialist solidarity.

The journey of the party and state delegation headed by SED Central Committee General Secretary and GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker opens new perspectives for the GDR's collaboration with both states.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 14 November 1979.
2. Ibid., 15 November 1979.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., 14 December 1979.
5. Ibid., 16 and 19 November 1979.

6. Ibid., 13 November 1979.
7. Ibid., 19 November 1979.
8. Ibid., 16 November 1979.
9. Ibid., 13 November 1979.

5885  
CSO: 2300

SUBTLETIES OF 'MORE INDEPENDENT' FOREIGN POLICY VIEWED

LD060951 Paris LE FIGARO in French 4 Mar 80 p 4 LD

[Warsaw dispatch by Bernard Margueritte: "Poland Strives To Pursue a More Independent Foreign Policy"]

[Text] After spending Sunday in the fair city of Krakow, Mr Olivier Stirn, secretary of state to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, arrived in Warsaw on Monday. His visit to Poland takes place at an especially opportune moment. In fact, it occurs not only shortly after Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, which has called the foundations for East-West relations into question, but also after the Polish party congress and following Gierek's proposal to hold in Warsaw a conference on disarmament in Europe.

At any rate, the events which took place in recent weeks, the way in which the congress developed and comments by the Warsaw press have confirmed that, contrary to what is often asserted, Polish foreign policy, far from being purely and simply a reflection and extension of Kremlin policy, is in fact very subtle. It is also true that it is both ambiguous and contradictory. In fact, it now appears to be marked by a dual effort.

First, an effort to pursue a more independent policy while keeping to the Kremlin line--this apparent contradiction in terms is a fundamental fact of Polish foreign policy but it has become even more apparent recently.

A joke which a member of this country's parliament told me illustrates Poland's delicate situation: "A conference of Warsaw Pact members takes place in Moscow. While taking their seats round the table, the delegates notice that a pin has been placed on every chair. The GDR representative sits down and smiles. The Czechoslovak places another pin on his chair, sits down and smiles. The Romanian takes out a pin "Made in China" and places it next to the first pin "Made in the USSR," sits down and smiles. The Hungarian sits down but does not smile. And, finally, the Pole unobtrusively throws the pin on the ground, sits down and winces in a terrible manner." In a nutshell, this is the entire Polish foreign policy, my interlocutor told me.

In fact, it has recently been observed that Poland has kept aloof with respect to Soviet aggression in Afghanistan, has spoken out in support of the preservation of detente and has proposed that a conference on disarmament be convened in Warsaw. With reference to this, people like to say in Warsaw that Poland would like to play in the East a role similar to that played by France in the West.

Obviously, this is a rather gross exaggeration since at best Polish policy consists in taking advantage of anything in Soviet policy that can be used to further Polish interests. For instance, any revival of detente in Europe, which Poland needs, falls most conveniently into the framework of the Kremlin's global strategy.

And, second, there is the effort to make acceptable the idea that detente can be limited to Europe. The special relations with the United States which are so necessary to Poland must be preserved--one of the main Polish commentators on foreign policy recalled in the Warsaw newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY, with more cynicism and brutality than usual, that detente can only be applied to East-West relations and not to North-South relations, for instance. He even wrote: "There is every reason to speak up--and even at--in support of an independent development [l'autonomisation] of both the detente process and prospects for European security." The writer explained that it is indeed in the light of this "divisible" nature of detente that Gierek's recent proposal for disarmament had to be considered and, indulging in wishful thinking, he asserted that "in West Europe, public opinion is decidedly in favor of 'divisibility of detente.'"

It is true, however, that Poland cannot do without its special relations with the United States: "Only the substantial U.S. economic aid (\$1.5 billion of credits in 2 years) has enabled it to avoid catastrophe, and this aid will soon become even more necessary to it. The new person in charge of Polish foreign policy, Central Committee Secretary Jerzy Waszczuk, confirmed to me, moreover, that Poland believed that all the Helsinki signatories should take part in an eventual Warsaw conference, "that is, including the United States, quite clearly."

Jerzy Stefanowicz puts what he himself terms the "fundamental question." Can one pursue a policy of detente with one country--the United States--which, in other regions of the world, pursues a policy of aggression? Will the West refuse to die for Kabul as formerly some refused to die for Danzig? Will they accept that detente only applies to Europe and is not put in doubt by what happens elsewhere?

Polish reactions show clearly that the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan is undoubtedly the most serious political danger. As President Carter saw it, if the West said and did nothing, this would leave the door open to the threat of the most dire adventures in the Third World by increased Soviet interference.



The Poles were the first to pose this question clearly in the name of the Warsaw Pact. The acid test for them will be the West's attitude to the European meeting planned for Madrid later this year. If the Madrid conference took place as though nothing had happened, the Soviet troops would remain in Afghanistan and the socialist countries would justifiably conclude that the West accepts that detente is divisible, that is, limited to Europe, and that the Soviets can pursue their policy of aggression wherever else they choose. Let us hope that Mr Olivier Stirn gives the Poles the start of an answer on this matter.

CSO: 3100

# SECURITY SERVICE REPRESSIONS MARK EXPANSION OF OPPOSITION

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 25 Feb 80 pp 1, 4

[Article by (t.)]

[Text] The constant repressions and harassments of the security apparatus against the activists of the democratic opposition are an everyday phenomenon, but they are unable to put an end to opposition action or to shake from their course people who have already been frequently mistreated and detained under militia arrest. Even an incomplete listing of these terrorist actions indicates how the geographic areas in which independent civic activity is going on are increasing.

Last year independent regional papers began to appear. BIULETYN DODNOSLASKI is published in Wroclaw; WOLNE SLOWO is published in Kalisz and has a readership that goes beyond that city. Issue No 16 of that paper just appeared in February. To date we have heard little about WIADOMOSCI TARNOWSKIE. It was Security Service repressions which gave this paper its renown. WIADOMOSCI is edited by an artist, Wacław Mojek, a Social Self-Defense Committee "KOR" activist, and by Zbigniew Stanuch, a factory driver.

The harassments in Tarnow began with searches in the apartments of the co-workers of the journal and with confiscations, not only of press materials. There began arrests and questionings, which were accompanied by threats of loss of work and of persecution of the families. A search was also conducted in the apartment of Wacław Mojek's father, he was taken to the Militia Headquarters, and there the Militia attempted to frighten him with the threat that, in the event of further activity by both his sons, administrative and penal consequences would await the entire family.

Security Service Colonel Polanski showed up at the place of work of the mother-in-law of Zbigniew Mojek (who helps his brother Wacław in his editorial work) and threatened her that various sorrows would befall her daughter for helping her husband in his opposition activity. Zbigniew Stanuch was detained for several hours in the Citizens' Militia Headquarters. Despite this, WIADOMOSCI TARNOWSKIE will continue to appear.

In Katowice the Security Service again persecuted activists of the Free Trade Unions. A search was conducted in the house of a co-worker of this Committee, Anna Gorgon, and she was detained under arrest for 48 hours. Other members of the Free Trade Union Committees, Zdzislaw Mnich and Jerzy Geresz of Chorzow, were jailed for more than 40 hours. Kazimierz Switon was summoned, for who knows which time now, to an interrogation at the Militia Headquarters.

In Ostroleka searches were conducted in the apartment of Stanislaw Pilichowski, whose son, Jacek, is a coworker of the independent ROBOTNIK. Three coworkers of this same paper were detained under arrest in Radom for 48 hours.

Stanislaw Zycha, an activist of the democratic opposition, was questioned for 10 hours in Sanok; Edmund Paluszynski remained under arrest for 48 hours in Swidnik, near Lublin.

In Poznan the actions of the Militia were recently directed against the activists of the "Social Self-Defense Committee of the Wielkopolska-Kujawy Region." After a search in the apartment of Edmund Kroscinski (Stencils and parts of a copier were confiscated), he was held under arrest for 48 hours. In the apartment of Krystyna Antowska, an activist of this Committee, paper, stencils, and printing ink were confiscated during a search which lasted almost 11 hours. Then she was taken to Militia headquarters, where a body search, in which Antowska was stripped to the nude, was conducted. After she was released from arrest after 48 hours, she was told that this would constantly happen to her if she did not abandon opposition activity.

In Pabianice, during a search in the apartment of Marek Chwalewski, an activist of the "Movement of Free Democrats," a certain quantity of copies of ROBOTNIK and BIUTLETYN INFORMACYJNY (published by the Social Self Defense Committee "KOR") were confiscated.

One ought to remember that hidden behind these short telegraph-style news items is essentially the quiet heroism and endurance in the independence campaign of tens and hundreds of unknown names. We can only find out about a few of them when the terror applied against them by the Security Service acquires notoriety.

Deserving of special attention and recognition is the activity of the Student Solidarity Committees, whose members are threatened with expulsion from their schools or at least with various disciplinary penalties and persecutions during their studies by zealous deans nominated by the Party. In February exactly such a campaign of repressions came upon the Student Solidarity Committees in Krakow.

A search was conducted in the apartment of Beata Surowska and a copier and a certain quantity of copies of the student journal SYGNAL were confiscated. Surowska was detained and taken into Militia arrest. A couple of days later Dronislaw Wildsztajn, another Student Solidarity Committee activist, was arrested and it was made impossible to hold a meeting of Student Solidarity committee members and sympathizers in his apartment.

## NEED SEEN TO RAISE PRICES OF DEFICIT, SUBSIDIZED GOODS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 4, 26 Jan 80 pp 1,4

[Article by Andrzej Tymowski]

[Text] Social problems, despite the differences in assumptions, are too often treated in practice as secondary ones: they will regulate themselves as national income increases. Yes, if we produce more steel, or cement, or megawatts, or mine more coal, etc., then we will create better conditions to satisfy demand. Such reasoning, however, is just one step removed from assuming that statistical data on these magnitudes of production express not only the economic, but also the social, development of the country and from identifying as malcontentism the lack of a social resonance corresponding to the rise of production indices.

Nevertheless, the average citizen of our country considers social and economic achievements in a quite different plane than the majority of economists and statisticians and applies a different scale in comparing them over time or with other countries. The rise in national income, production of steel, electricity, or medicines, the mining of coal or copper ore, or transport by various means, are treated by him as real positive results, if at the same time they are accompanied, directly or indirectly, by an improvement of actual supplies in those areas. In practice it is not always so. An increase in the generation of electricity is accompanied since two years ago by a new phenomenon: an increasing frequency of switching off current, among other things for private recipients. The record-breaking mining of coal is associated with increasing difficulties of buying it by private consumers, among others by the rural population. A rise in the production of steelworks is not accompanied by an increase in the supply of sheet metal for roofing or of construction elements for houses. A great dynamic rise in the production of medicines coexists with a prolonged search for a pharmacy which has a given medicine. The increase in carriage of goods and investments in transport is accompanied by the low punctuality of trains and their increasingly crowded condition. Such instances are widely known. Of importance is, however, the realization that these phenomena are conducive to definite social consequences. In practice they are not analyzed at all statistically (for example the lateness of

trains). The shaping and rise of living standards are being treated chiefly as an increase in money incomes of the population, with eventual correction (of a rather controversial magnitude) resulting from taking into account the cost of living index and the extent of the equipment of apartments with certain durable consumer goods. The number of assigned habitable or hospital rooms, etc., is also being taken into account. These data, however, depict only to a limited degree changes in life quality.

I am of the opinion that it would, therefore, be desirable to introduce into our statistics a few additional indices which would measure the everyday life quality on a more human routine plane close to a "plain man." These indices would illustrate phenomena which we encounter daily and which are responsible for this or that perception of social and economic realities.

The first group of indices should deal with matters connected with the time budget of the population and the amount of it used up by such matters as purchase of goods and services, with special attention to the time spent in queues, time lost in getting to a doctor or in search for needed medicines, time spent in the post office to cash a money order or to send it, or in analogous operations for registering a letter or a parcel, and also the loss of time caused by train or bus delays. This index would depict the encumbrance of the time budget with such activities and would make it possible to keep steady track of their evolution.

The second group of indices should comprise changes in the waiting time needed to acquire required goods, such as, for example, furniture or a car. Moreover, one should count the time during which electric current, water, or central heating supplied by the heat and power generating plant were switched off. Of great interest would also be the index that would illustrate the period of waiting for the allocation of a cooperative apartment, from the beginning of efforts to obtain it and the recognition of the social entitlement for one's own apartment. Such indices could be multiplied although it would be best to limit them to the most typical ones. Apart from this, one can investigate these matters on a regional level and draw the corresponding operational conclusions.

The third group of indices may relate to matters connected with the quality of production (the number of complaints and durability of use), or the pollution of water, milk, and the air we breathe, the intensity of noise in cities, etc.

The introduction into our statistics of a set of such indices--at present they appear only sporadically and at random--and making public the changes in these indices could become an important element in our efforts of improving the quality of everyday life. The introduction of these data in the Statistical Yearbook or publishing them in some other way would permit society to confront its own reactions with objective situations and would contribute to a sensitization of planners to these problems.



From the viewpoint of the feelings of society, any shortcomings, which are reflected among other things in the time budget of the population and in the quality of products, are often felt more acutely than even the amount of income and cause greater discontent.

For an average citizen, the development of the country must be expressed precisely by improving the elements of daily life which are often underestimated by the planners. The struggle for the improvement of the quality of everyday life is an arduous task that requires long-term, planned efforts. It is essential that it be undertaken and its necessity be perceived. The inclusion of the entire society in this action obviously requires making widely known the proposed indices, whose detailed parameters can easily be established.

The improvement or simple attainment of market equilibrium, the necessary condition of any rational policy for shaping population income and consumption policy, is the key problem and the basic starting point of the betterment of the quality of life in our country. It is surprising how this basic problem has been veiled in the discussions of economists and how the acuteness of the problem disappears in its academic formulations.

There is no need to convince anyone concerning the partial equilibrium between the supply and demand in our market; it is an open secret. Its consequences are also well known: lines in front of stores and an enormous burden on the time budget of consumers, especially women; development of a "black market" and all sort of speculative prices; and collapse of morale in those branches of economy in which possibilities exist to dispose of deficit goods or services. When it is not possible to satisfy the requirements of all customers, the whole scheme of privileges which has been so convincingly described by K. Skalski in these columns (POLITYKA, 31/32) develops. This scheme favors the cumulation of affluence and is one of the causes of the emergence of larger and smaller groups which wish to have everything and do obtain everything, for the acquisition of many goods and services is not limited by their incomes, which are always measurable, but is the result of a possibility of obtaining all kind of goods through some kinds of connections.

At the same time, the "bad market" about which K. Secomski wrote so convincingly in his recently published book, which was awarded the O. Lange prize, ceases to play the role of a labor productivity stimulator. This function is now fulfilled by the good market, that is, the stable market. The bad market acts the other way round, since often it shifts the interest of workers from the achievement of better work results to the endeavor to acquire goods or services. A man's endeavors as a producer are of less importance for his standard of living than his similar exertions as a consumer intent on spending his money. The wife of a friend of mine, a well-known writer-publicist, once said, causing him annoyance and providing me with a proof of the emergence of a new frame of values: "Instead of giving me your fee for a new article you would better stand in line for the onions which are about to be distributed" (at that time onions were in short supply).

Taking steps aimed at the recovery of market equilibrium is necessary if we really want to improve the functioning of our economy and, among other things, to base our social policy on sound foundations. This requires comprehensive action and the technique of this operation, which has to be a long-term one, is well known, although the measures taken will obviously be unpopular. It is necessary in particular to exert an effect both on demand and supply and to stabilize or even reduce demand while correspondingly increase supply. If, however, this is not possible to achieve by only material increase in supply, it will be necessary to resort to unpopular measures, that is, to an increase in prices, chiefly of deficit or subsidized goods, which certainly is a measure that will not be received with applause. Operations of this kind no doubt involve self-denials on the part of society, which will, however, be rewarded for this with interest in the near future.

Nevertheless, any comprehensive action in this respect should be characterized by an understanding of the situation and an awareness that the consequences of this policy should be borne more by the groups which are better off than by those which live below the average. Hence a necessity to work out thorough all-embracing assumptions for this policy of restoring the market, a policy which, as shown by the Hungarian and recently by the Bulgarian example, depends to a great degree on the proper distribution of its consequences between individual groups of the population. Our previous two major attempts at changing prices, carried out in the past decade, had ended in failures.

The trend I am outlining must be linked together with a change in many assumptions of our social policy and requires the understanding by the citizens that in the present situation a further increase in all kind of monetary benefits, not accompanied by a corresponding increase in supplies and services, solves nothing or almost nothing, and only aggravates the state of disequilibrium. Our social policy should be based to a far greater extent than heretofore on the expansion of the social infrastructure and on proper establishment of the order of priorities. In this I see ample possibilities of finding reserves and solving burning problems within the framework of the means assigned for social purposes. Here are some of the suggested shifts.

It is surprising how often we read about difficulties encountered by owners of individual means of transport in the acquisition of spare parts, garaging, etc., and how little attention is given to a basic question which confronts the inhabitants of this country, that is, to mass transportation. Anyone can do a little probing and see how many articles a month appear which complain about the lot of motorists, and how ignored is the lot of passengers who use crowded and unpunctual means of mass transportation. During the last five years the number of added seats in passenger cars has been more than five times greater than the number of added seats in buses. We have cheaper gasoline than the other socialist countries, whereas the overcrowding in our mass transport is higher. Ought not mass transport and its investments have priority over individual transportation?

Another example. This one in the area of sports. Is it proper to allocate enormous sums to record-seeking sports, while increasingly neglecting in our investment policy and current expenditures the mass sports and universally accessible sports fields and swimming pools? For many years I have had a conviction that, if our society were aware how much a kick by X, a hook by P, and a stage victory by Z, actually cost it would have an altogether different approach to these achievements. Did we not observe that the best developed and physically efficient inhabitants of the Scandinavian countries are not leading in the expenditure for record-breaking sports, for they support mass sports, where the record-breaking is but a natural crowning achievement.

We are expanding luxury catering on a rather vast scale and are creating expensive restaurants at motels, etc. At the same time, the number of the formerly so popular milk bars, or popular inexpensive restaurants, is undergoing stabilization, if not reduction. Is it not rather necessary also in this sector to affect a far-ranging change in the mentality of corresponding local executives?

I am quoting examples at random. They do not exhaust the question. It is absolutely necessary to realize that the expansion of social infrastructure, for example, of the health service, or education, cannot be delayed--indeed, not only in programmatic assumptions, but in practical implementation--in view of the advent of the lean years. Giving priority to housing construction over the accompanying commercial and social infrastructure often subjects the inhabitants of the newly built housing estates to long-term torments and creates a climate of social discontent. Suffice it to have a talk with residents of the Stegna or Ursynow Warsaw housing estates. The plans envisaged a sufficient number of schools and of health and commercial centers. But in actual fact that does not change the very difficult situation, for within the framework of savings these investments are being deferred to an undetermined tomorrow. For this very reason savings in the social infrastructure can be made only after a mature consideration and must not consist of mechanical retrenchment alone.

Scientific societies, among others the Polish Economic Society, might play a very great role in the planning of all kind of economic and social reforms. But they ought to come forward with mature initiatives based on practical and authentic proposals. "You don't get more aces by shuffling cards." It is sometimes worth one's while to look for other people and exploit their authentic initiatives. Perhaps proposals emanating from plain men will permit us to avoid many mistakes that sometimes mar our daily life.

# MISSION OF FORMER ROMANIAN-USSR FRIENDSHIP ORGAN BROADENED

## New Publisher for 'VEAC NOU'

[Editorial Report] The January 1980 issue of VEAC NOU in Romanian, the Bucharest review which has been published for 35 years as an organ celebrating Romanian-USSR friendship, announces that the monthly will now be published by the National Center for the Promotion of Friendship and Collaboration With Other Peoples. The slogan: "Proletariat of all countries, unite," which appeared on the cover of the old VEAC NOU, published by the General Council of ARLUS [Romanian Association for Ties of Friendship with the USSR], is missing from the new publication. In the old publication, most of the reporting dealt with events, personalities, and places in the Soviet Union. The first issue of the new publication focuses on Romanian cultural and economic contacts with foreign countries and includes excerpts of articles from L'EXPRESS, LE MONDE, and THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, along with an article on preparations for the summer Olympics in the USSR. The new publication has twice as many pages as the old VEAC NOU and it includes color photos.

## Explanation of New Mission

Bucharest VEAC NOU in Romanian Jan 80 p 1

[Article by Mihnea Gheorghiu, president of the National Center for the Promotion of Friendship and Collaboration With Other Peoples: "Together With All Peoples"]

[Text] The complex realities of the period in which we live and of this world of interdependences, in which the fate of each nation, is related, in an ever-increasing extent, to the general processes of the development of mankind, emphasize, more than ever before, the importance of expanding mutual knowledge and increasing rapprochement among peoples, as essential factors in the promotion of international understanding and cooperation. One cannot dispute the fact that, regardless of its size, each people has an original historic experience and has to assert its own creative genius, which, because of its unmistakable characteristics and specific traits, is

capable of enriching and shaping the patrimony of universal civilization and culture established as a result of the effort of hundreds of generations. Each people has something to offer and something to receive. Under the conditions of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution, active participation in the world circuit of material and intellectual values appears, more than ever, as an inexorable requirement for prosperity and for the moral certitudes of the future.

The extension and expansion of mutual knowledge cannot help but increase the esteem and respect of each people for the efforts and achievements of other peoples; in this process of knowledge and rapprochement, the peoples discover their natural affinities and their common aspirations for peace and freedom, for progress and well-being, leading to the uniting of their forces in a struggle for the building of a more just and better world.

In the spirit of this conviction, our party and state have consistently spoken in favor of the expansion of relations of collaboration and friendship with all peoples, with all states of the world, in the spirit of peaceful coexistence. In this framework, a role of the highest importance is played by the expansion of cooperation and of international exchanges in the areas of culture, education, science and information, on the basis of the new principles of relations among states, full equality of rights, non-interference in internal and external affairs, and mutual advantage, on the basis of respect for national independence and sovereignty.

Thus, the development of ties of cultural cooperation by Romania with foreign countries, both bilaterally and multilaterally, by means of international organizations and institutions, is encouraged and assured. Relations of collaboration in the fields of the press, publishing houses, radio, television and films, direct ties between universities, research institutes, cultural-artistic establishments and institutions, and mass and public organizations are undergoing continual expansion. Contacts between men of science, culture and the arts and journalists, meetings among the youth, tourist travel, participation in international sports competitions, etc. have been expanded. The expansion and diversification of these exchanges have contributed effectively to the enrichment of the knowledge of our people about the achievements of other peoples in all fields of activity and about their traditions and the specific characteristics of their material and intellectual creation, stimulating, at the same time, beyond the boundaries of Romania, an interest in learning about the Romanian people, its way of living and thinking, historic past, material and intellectual civilization, and the experience and achievements resulting from the work of the revolutionary transformation of Romanian society. A role of great significance in the propagation abroad of truth and knowledge in regard to Romanian realities, the achievements and aspirations of the Romanian people, and the foreign and domestic policy of our party and state has been played by the works of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, published in languages of international circulation and the publication, in foreign countries, of volumes of selected texts from these works or of material presenting the socio-political thought and practical activity of the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.



In the framework of the general guidelines of the policy of our party and state and in the spirit of international agreements and of the Final Act of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, for the purpose of the continuing strengthening of the friendship between the Romanian people and other peoples of the world, on the initiative of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party adopted, in March 1978, a number of measures aimed at raising the cultural exchanges and relations of our country with foreign countries to a higher level. The "National Center for the Promotion of Friendship and Collaboration With Other Peoples" was established for this purpose. The center is a public organism which is concerned with the coordination of programs of cultural exchanges and relations with foreign countries formulated by the central institutions, the mass and public organizations and other elements, aiming at the continuing improvement, on the basis of reciprocity, of the work of informing international public opinion about the economic and socio-cultural development of Romania, about the historic past and the current working and living conditions of our people, stimulating concern for a richer reflection of Romanian realities abroad, for the intensification of cultural exchanges, for the perfecting and diversification of methods and means of activity in these fields and their adaptation to the special characteristics of various areas and countries.

Under these generous auspices, the review VEAC NOU, published by the National Center for the Promotion of Friendship and Collaboration With Other Peoples, embarks, beginning with the present issue, on a new stage of activity, determined to make an active contribution to the implementation of the policy of our party and state for the development and the expansion of relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and the other countries of the world and to assure that its readers are better and better informed and that their horizon of knowledge is extended.

Having embarked on this glorious path, we are confident that VEAC NOU will enjoy the interest and appreciation of its readers.

CSO: 2700

## ROMANIA

### SUCCESS IN SOLVING MINORITY PROBLEM HAILED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 1, 5 Jan 80 pp 14-17

[Article by Ernst Breitenstein, editor in chief of NEUER WEG: "The New Socialist Experiment"]

[Text] Although I am aware that I am deviating from the rigors of the sobriety of language and style customary in such a theoretical publication as the ERA SOCIALISTA I, nonetheless, intend to begin this article by referring to certain informative findings in the foreign press on an issue that greatly concerns us. These findings are extremely important to the topic of this article.

'A situation like this exists only in Timisoara: Four local newspapers in four native languages for four nationalities!' This is the title of the opening article of a page in the West German newspaper WESTFALISCHE RUNDSCHAU dedicated to the subject of the mass communications media available in German to our country's ethnic German population. Journalist Alfred Heeke, the author, states the following in the introduction to the article: 'The model is unique in the world. It has a past and a future. It is found in Timisoara, or Iemesvar, a city of over 300,000 situated in the western part of Romania's Banat plains. Romanians, Germans, Hungarians and Serbians make up the demographic substance of this cultural metropolis that is as old as it is modern. One of the city's special characteristics is its uniqueness in the field of mass media. Each of these four nationalities that live here peacefully together, united by a creative friendship, subscribes to and reads the local newspaper in its native language. Besides the two national level dailies, i.e., the Romanian language SCINTEIA and the German NEUER WEG the Timisoara newspaper stands offer local papers in the Romanian, German, Hungarian and Serbian languages.'<sup>1</sup>

Another West German publication cites official sources to state that the number of people of German nationality scattered beyond the borders of the German speaking countries allegedly totals twenty to thirty million. 'The largest populations of German origin live overseas. Approximately 9.6 million

(1) WESTFALISCHE RUNDSCHAU, No 100, 30 Apr 79, Dortmund, FRG.

live in the USA, about 1.2 million in Canada, 2.5 million in Brazil, 1.2 million in Argentina, 800,000 in Australia, 230,000 in South Africa and 30,000 in Chile.<sup>2</sup>

Along with these figures it is perhaps interesting to review the following news item that appeared in the same publication. 'The German community in New York which consists of thousands of families intends to open its own school in 1980. An organized effort using a questionnaire has shown that over 200 families are interested in organizing a similar educational institution to be located in a suburb of New York City.'<sup>3</sup>

The same sources estimate the ethnic German population in Europe to be approximately four million. This includes Romania's German population which according to the census of 5 January 1977 totaled 358,732.

In the autumn of 1979, a well known publication in Cologne, the DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, devoted a small study to the Romanian central daily newspaper NEUER WEG as well as to the entire press published in Romania for the ethnic German population on the NEUER WEG's thirtieth anniversary. Comparing the situation of this press with similar ones in several other countries, the journal concludes that 'only here (i.e., in Romania) does one find German language sections of publishing houses, German language magazines and weekly periodicals and two daily newspapers....'<sup>4</sup>

The author of the cited article, Wolf Oschlies, gives evidence of the existence in our country of a complex system of communication media available to a population of less than 360,000 by listing and describing each newspaper and magazine, the daily radio programs and weekly television broadcast, mentioning that some of these publications print their own almanacs and other works on specific topics of interest to the German population, and that historical studies were even published in Romania on the German language press.

I have permitted myself to address the subject of the international opinions concerning the ethnic German press in our country. Of course, as an employee in the news media, the information and examples of this field of activity are available and familiar to me. However, the primary reason lies more in depth and, particularly, in the conviction that there are not many phenomena of social life as important for Romanian policies as a whole concerning the nationalities issue as that of the news media devoted to Romania's ethnic minorities. On the scheme of logic this news media possesses a truly metonymic value.

The entire world knows that the concern for a solution to our country's nationality problem is a long standing one. From the very beginning the

2) KULTURPOLITISCHE KORRESPONDENZ, No 389, 15 Nov 79, Bonn, FRG.

3) Ibid.

4) DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, No 5, May 1979, Cologne, FRG, p 518.

labor movement set this as one of the goals of its struggle. However, it was left to the RCP to achieve this old and important political goal in accordance with the Marxist concept of the world and society as adapted to the socio-historical conditions of our own country. The resolution of the recent 12th Congress of the RCP justly states that 'the solution of the nationality issue in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ideals and the creation of equal living and working conditions for all our country's citizens regardless of nationality is one of the great victories of the RCP's policies and the construction of socialism in our country.'

This concise evaluation expresses an accomplishment and experience of international value. Of the 35 nations on our continent only a few very small ones (i.e., Andorra, Lichtenstein, Luxemburg, Malta, Monaco, San Marino and the Vatican) have no national minorities. Nationalities and ethnic minority groups, i.e., those that have not yet reached the level of nationality, are literally present by the dozens, by the hundreds on all the continents. This is particularly so in the countries formed following the collapse of the colonial system. The great majority of the countries of the world are confronted with the problem of nationalities, some in a violent manner. This is a situation that points out the acuteness of the issue. Thus, the widespread interest is explained in the 'creative' and 'original' nature of the Romanian experience in resolving this issue. I have purposely emphasized the words 'creative' and 'original' because the successes we have achieved in this area are due to socialist Romania's particular manner of theoretically and practically addressing, examining and resolving the problems involved in the entire process of social development and construction in which the nationality issue occupies a priority position. The 'Statute on the Nationalities' was supposedly one of the first laws adopted after 29 August 1944 at the initiative of the RCP. This law put a definite end to ethnic and racial discrimination of any kind.

The assumption of state power by the working class and the start of the work of building socialism in Romania have brought about the fulfillment of the fundamental requirements of Marxist national policy as an integral part in the struggle for a new society. Certain situations were similarly discussed and explained according to principle, situations that had negative results for the German nationality population and that had been generated by a state of bitterness, confusion and subjectivism inevitable after such difficult times as those existing during the period of fascism and war. I am referring to the resolution of the CC of the RCP of December 1948, among others, that resolutely and decisively put an end to the injustices that the German population had to suffer. The large mass of working people of this nationality were integrated with full rights into the country's political life and all spheres of civil and ethnic expression were opened to them. The agrarian reform also put an end to the injustices committed against the German population in the rural areas when all private property and lands were expropriated from them based on their nominal membership in the former German ethnic group. (This fascist type mass organization was directly initiated and led by Hitler's National Socialist Party with approval from the Antonescu dictatorship. All Romanian citizens of German nationality were officially registered as members without their being consulted in advance.) The RCP set a

major example of communist principle and strength by initiating the return the expropriated homes and farms. A significant number of German farmers thus received plots of land from state or communal property so as to be able to join agricultural production cooperatives.

In order to appreciate this action in its actual value we must remember that the approximately 60,000 homes and farms that were returned had not remained unoccupied. They had been given to the families of poor Romanian, Hungarian and Serbian peasants. So as not to remedy one error through another a major political campaign of clarification was required and the Romanian government had to find a solution so that those who now had to leave the households could establish themselves elsewhere. It should be added that both the population directly involved and the entire country understood and approved this act of justice and true compassion.

The readers of the ERA SOCIALISTA are well familiar with the significance of the 12th Congress in the history of the party and the nation. This congress inaugurated a new and superior phase in all areas of social development thus opening a broad path for the construction and perfection of the multilaterally developed socialist society. A fundamental truth of the materialist concept has acquired a new dimension: The recognition of the processual nature of all phenomena of social life, of the fact that life knows no processes that have final conclusions, and that by virtue of dialectics and the law of opposites all social phenomena and processes are continually subjected to changes. The nationality issue also is no exception to this truth. The qualitative changes that occur in socio-political life are by nature reflected in the party and state's policies on the issue of nationality.

The RCP has proceeded with such a viewpoint to an in depth analysis of the era in which we live both from the standpoint of national interests and on an international scheme. The defining of the role and place of nation in contemporary history was also begun in such a framework. Such a study was also undertaken, last but not least, because voices were making themselves heard that insisted that nationality, especially in Europe, had completed its historical mission and had become an anachronistic social category. The conclusions reached by our party express the exact opposite. They show us that our planet will for a long time still continue to be a world of nationalities and national states. The simple fact that from 1960 to present 1970's new countries have appeared on the world map confirms this belief. The number of countries will have reached 160 by the end of 1979 and will continue to grow. On the other hand the number of those who predict the end of nations appears to have decreased in light of this reality.

We shall now direct our attention to another conclusion reached through the same process of examining the present and future status of 'nation', that concerning the socio-political category of the coinhabiting nationality. By virtue of the same logic it has been determined that, as with the category of nation, that of coinhabiting nationality will for a long period still represent a stable human community with a prospective future. This conclusion was formulated in the Program of the RCP in the following manner: Nationalities



will continue to exist for quite a long time both during the period of constructing socialism as well as that of building communism. Therefore, a continuous effort is required to assure absolute equality in rights and of conditions for each nationality's unhindered participation and self expression.<sup>5</sup>

Based on the same program and on the reality of the centuries long cohabitation of the other nationalities side by side with the Romanian people, the 12th Congress has decided that our party should continue to act with maximum consistency in assuring full equality of rights for all citizens regardless of nationality and to educate all working people in the spirit of socialist patriotism, fraternity and unity and even closer cooperation in creating the socialist and communist society in Romania.<sup>6</sup>

The recognition of the continuity of the cohabiting nationalities is of special importance for our national existence and the future of ethnic communities. Socialist Romania bases its entire policy concerning the nationality issue on this truth. The guidelines for the national policy have been established on the basis of this conclusion. Still another no less importance conclusion was reached regarding the premise of true equality of rights in social practice for the cohabiting nationalities: That of the legal necessity to assure equality in the realm of material life. Referring to this aspect of the issue in his February 1971 presentation to the plenary session of the Council of Workers of German Nationality Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, 'Equality of rights is basically only achieved when equal working and living conditions are created, when action is taken to bring about a strong material base that will provide workers with a truly free and independent life.... What kind of equality of rights can exist where entire areas are held back economically and where the people cannot develop materially and spiritually?... Equality of rights can actually only be created when firm actions are taken to create the necessary material and spiritual conditions so that a man can fully enjoy all the benefits of civilization and socialism.' The following are examples of this theme. Among Romania's 39 administrative regions Harghita has a population with a majority of Hungarian, more precisely Szekler, nationality. The lands inhabited by the Szeklers were also known in the past as rich in forests and mineral waters. And in Bucharest and other urban centers it was recognized that a large number of servants were of Szekler origin. Because of regional economic backwardness, extreme poverty and lack of local jobs thousands of Szeklers, like the Romanian inhabitants of Oltenia, were year after year forced to travel the entire country in search of employment.

At the end of the current 5-year plan on 31 December 1980 the Harghita regions will have attained a total industrial production of 12 billion lei. The level of industrial production of the most efficient and best prewar year (1938) is presently reached in no less than five working days. 42 percent of the population currently lives in cities. 4,000 new apartments were built and 60,000 new workplaces created in the first three years of the current 5 year

<sup>5</sup> Program of the RCP, The Political Publishing House, 1975, p 148.

<sup>6</sup> The Resolution of the 12th Congress of the RCP.



plan (1976-1978). The major concern of its population today is the rapid preparation and qualification of the work force and not a shortage of jobs.

In our party's concept the development of the material base represents the major prerequisite for completely solving the nationality problem and assuring full equality for all our country's citizens regardless of nationality. Otherwise, the best and most sincere intentions simply remain utopian. Without this base not even the most fundamental civil right, the right to work, can be assured nor can those institutions that serve the preservation and development of the national identity of the coinhabiting populations such as schools, the press, theatre, literature and others, continue to exist.

This is one of the justifications for directing the policy of socialist industrialization toward the equitable and balanced development of production forces throughout the country and the achievement of higher rates of growth in the more backward regions. This task has also brought on the decision that by the end of the current 5-year plan in 1980 every region should achieve a level of industrial production of at least ten billion lei.

Based on the same considerations the 12th Congress approved a program-directive for Romania's socio-economic development on the regional level for the 1981-1985 period that, as stated in the resolution of the congress, will assure the 'necessary framework for the balanced distribution of production forces throughout the country, the optimum utilization of the labor and material resources in each area, the drawing of the administrative regions closer in terms of total production levels and use of labor resources, the systemization and modernization of the urban and communal network and the creation of all necessary conditions so that the equality of rights enjoyed by our citizens regardless of nationality become part of the lasting foundation of growth of the economic potential of all regions and localities.'

It is perhaps not without interest to also attempt an evaluation of the ideas to which we have referred from the exclusive viewpoint of the coinhabiting nationalities, for example, of a nationality as small in size as the German population. The concern for existence and the national future of the ethnic community of which he is a member preoccupies a Romanian, a Russian, a Frenchman or an Italian incomparably less than it does an individual belonging to an ethnic community the size of the German population in our country. The reasons are obvious. Precisely this concern, this worry for the future, if I may express myself in these terms, explains the extraordinary response that the official declaration by the party, the state leadership and the country's president has had on the theme that, just as the nation itself, the coinhabiting nationalities continue to have quite a long future ahead of them. Romania, the RCP and the chief of state have not only publicly declared this theme and identified themselves with its theory, they have also raised it to the level of state and party policy. As a result every step was taken in our country to assure that socio-political practice offers the most favorable framework for the continued existence of the coinhabiting nationalities.

It is appropriate that we at least briefly refer to the non-Germans living in socialist Romania for the affirming nationalities for preserving and developing their national identity.

First in this respect are the concrete possibilities for preserving and cultivating their native languages and national characteristics. Here are some data and figures that are quite expressive. 319 kindergarten units or sections were functioning in our country using German as the language of instruction; that only attended by 11,500 children. There were 528 units or sections of primary and middle school education (i.e., grades two through eight) with 17,254 pupils. And there were 39 high school units or sections with 5,578 students. A section of the teachers college in Sibiu is organized to train teachers and 5 university chairs of German language and literature preparing, among others, professors of German language, exist in order to provide this multi-lingual system with the needed personnel.

In the beginning of this article I spoke about the literary language press in Romania and how it plays an important role in the cultivation of the native language, the promotion of the art and culture and in the spiritual life of the German immigrants. Here I should also mention the every bit as intense and significant activity conducted by our country's publishing houses.

First of all the German Publishing House, organized to produce books in the German language of the collaborating nationalities, other noted publishing houses such as the Cultural Publishing House and the Ion Creanga, Alaitos, Dacia and Europa publishing houses, in fact all 10 of Romania's publishing houses create books in the German language. In 1978 these firms placed 71 works with a total circulation of 263,000 copies on the market. In the same year the printing of German books in 197,000 total copies were also imported to meet the needs of the population of German nationality.

In some detail we must also point out the activity of the theatre. I am referring to the three professional theatres, i.e., the Timisoara State Theatre, the German section of the Sibiu State Theatre and the Sibiu Puppet Theatre; the comedy theatres with continual staging in Lugoj and Medias; the operetta theatre with continual staging in Resita; the Friedrich Schiller house of Culture in Sibiu; and, last but not least, the 730 amateur artistic groups that carry their activities in houses of culture, clubs and cultural homes in connection with all the urban and rural localities where workers of German nationality live.

I have referred above to the unique example that Timisoara offers with the simultaneous use of four languages published there. Let us add that Timisoara has another unique aspect that is every bit as unique in the world with the existence of theatres in three languages (i.e., Romanian, Hungarian and German). Furthermore, the city of Cluj-Napoca has two professional theatres, i.e., the Romanian State Opera and the Hungarian State

I believe that we can end here with our examples. Those already provided should be sufficient enough to enable any man of good faith to form his opinion about the status of the nationality issue in Romania.

One last point on which we should dwell concerns the presence of workers belonging to the coinhabiting nationalities in our country's political and social life and in our society's system of participant democracy. In this case one would again proceed as with the topic of education and cultural life by presenting a series of examples, data and figures. However, the issue is so well known to the readers of this magazine that we consider it sufficient to simply restate the fact that citizens from the coinhabiting nationalities are found along with Romanians in all areas and at all levels of party and state activity and in all sectors and institutions of our socialist democracy. In the stage of development through which we are passing the party and state continue to work to assure the presence of representatives of the coinhabiting nationalities in the management of all sectors of socio-political life in numbers corresponding to the size of each population. It is true that in the past, during the period between the wars, there also were a few representatives of German and Hungarian nationality, for example, in parliament. In Iorga's government there was even an undersecretary of state who for a short time was entrusted with control of the Department of Minorities. However, the difference of degree between one of today's representatives or ministers who are members of the coinhabiting nationalities and those few that served during the period of bourgeois regime is considerable. At that time a delegate of German or Hungarian nationality could at most represent a small part of the population, usually the propertied class, in which he belonged. However, it would have been unthinkable that such an elected official should also represent the interests of citizens of a nationality other than his own. Today the members in the party's central committee, the executive political committee, the government and the Grand National Assembly belonging to the coinhabiting nationalities are actual and full representatives of all those who elected them regardless of nationality. They are not persons tolerated and limited in their activities to only those matters that concern a certain population. Instead they exercise in their positions the fully equal rights enjoyed by all workers in our country regardless of nationality. These are real possibilities that all citizens have to express themselves and develop and improve their own individuality.

Of course, it would be naive and unscientific to insist that Romania's nationality issue no longer experienced difficulties and that it represented a sphere of activity in which everything occurred quietly, idyllically and without difficulties and problems. Such a claim would be in direct contradiction to the idea of the processes of life's phenomena. But life has taught us that in the interest of social development reality must be approached directly. Only thus can the difficulties and problems that life will continuously generate be identified in time, resolved and prevented. Precisely this way of ours of viewing and examining social reality and directly confronting the difficulties that arise in many areas, including that of the nationality issue, has enabled our country to offer an example that deserves to be made known and studied.

## BRIEFS

**NEW JOB FOR PACOSTE**--Inasmuch as the position of first deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Arad County has become vacant, on the basis of Article 72 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Cornel Pacoste is delegated to fill the position of first deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Arad County. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 12, 9 Feb 80 p 3]

**DEATH OF RADIO-TV OFFICIAL**--Comrade Alexandru Szekeres, candidate member of the RCP Central Committee, deputy director general of Romanian Radio-Television, was born on 29 April 1926 in Lugoj Municipality, Timis County. He became a member of the Romanian Communist Party in 1945. He was secretary of the Arghita and Mures county RCP committees between 1963 and 1979 and was elected candidate member of the RCP Central Committee at the 12th party congress. [Excerpts] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 12 Feb 80 p 5]

**DEATH OF BISHOP**--Bishop Dr Antonie Plamadeala, the Eparchial Assembly, the Eparchial Council and the entire staff of the Diocese of Buzau announce the death, of Bishop Dr Antim Angelescu on 8 February 1980 at the age of 86. He was bishop of the Eparchy of Buzau. [Excerpts] [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 11 Feb 80 p 6]

**DEATH OF OFFICIAL**--The party committee, the Council of Workers, the trade union committee and the entire collective of workers in the "Industriaexport-import" foreign trade enterprise announce the death of the deputy director of the enterprise, Jan Leontescu. [Excerpts] [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Feb 80 p 6]

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## WEST GERMAN ARTICLE DISCUSSES POST-TITO LEADERSHIP

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 25 Feb 80 p 3

[Article by Viktor Meier: "The 'Little Titos' at Work in Belgrade--Yugoslavs Think a Number of Things Can Stand Improvement"]

[Text] Dubrovnik, 24 February--When I started out from Belgrade it was cold and foggy. Here in Dubrovnik on the Adriatic there is radiant spring sunshine, holding in check even the violent bora, the northerly wind blowing down from the mountains on the Dalmatian coast. There are but few tourists strolling about. On the promenade, in the streets and in the restaurants the local people are among themselves. The party--made up half of people from Dubrovnik and half of strangers--which has settled at the neighboring table, despite the many bottles of wine standing on the table and notwithstanding all the lively conversation is remaining in a state of restrained, muted gaiety--Mediterranean moderation rather than Slavic exuberance.

The conversation covers a great many subjects. It deals with the history of the town, which for centuries, until Napoleon's time, was an independent patrician-ruled republic forced to exercise careful diplomacy owing to its maritime trade abroad and its precarious position between Turks and Venetians. A sober temperament and realism as well as firmness were basic traits of the Ragusans. The coat-of-arms of the republic contained the word "libertas." Dubrovnik brought its traditions into the Yugoslav variety. Perhaps this dowry will now be able to unfold again more vigorously under the new circumstances.

There is one thing the party at the neighboring table does not discuss--the illness of Tito and the time "after." One can see the same thing happening in all of Yugoslavia: inwardly the population anticipated the event as early as January, putting up with the end of an era. Has it been a good era? To be sure, it has been an era of undisputed personal authority which, at least since 1948, has been predictable and which, if not always on a straight line, has advanced Yugoslavia to a remarkable degree from the material and prestige point of view. Only one must not lose one's sense of proportion: the world did not stand still around Yugoslavia, and even prewar Yugoslavia, given the circumstances, enjoyed a disproportionate international prestige. The Tito era has been an era of communism, which continues to enjoy the



appeals to only a minority of Yugoslavs, even if most of them in the meantime have accepted the system in its moderated variety of self-administration as a kind of neutral environment. Above all, however, the era has not only been one of Titoism but also one of the "Titici," the "little Tites," who have often made the life of the population difficult. The term titici was coined by himself in one of his last appearances before high party bodies in the fall of 1978. Issuing a solemn warning against them, he called them a principal danger to the future of the regime. The speech was not published.

Thus the silence of the Yugoslavs can also be explained as the result of a certain split, which foreign observers often find difficult to detect. On the one hand there exists a latent discomfiture in light of the future uncertainties, particularly since the world situation has also become more shaky; on the other hand there are expectations of one thing or another having to be set in motion. At least inwardly or in the familiar circle of friends, the parallel with Spain is drawn far more frequently than might be expected. Of course one expects a change in regime, but the feeling is that in Yugoslavia too a great many things could be improved and solved without any change in domestic stability.

The Titici are at work. One can find them for instance in the Belgrade Press Committee, which recently started ostracizing a leading writer of popular fiction. Some time ago, when not a soul had any inkling of an illness of any kind, he had written an article about a woman in the FRO who was suing her doctor because of unjustified amputation of a leg. The article appeared a short time before Tito's operation, and the conclusion was drawn that the writer had alluded to the president's illness.

Apparently there are also Titici in the Belgrade Press Secretariat; the attitude of a German television journalist is their doing. German journalists have been beset with chicanery for some time. Late in January, when back-to-back briefings with Yugoslav personalities were organized for groups of foreign correspondents, the German group's turn did not come until a considerable time after all others had had theirs. "In Bonn they like us anyway, our drivers can go ahead and treat Germans less well than the rest," a German colleague remarked sarcastically. The love affair with Yugoslavia of the SPD and other places in Bonn causes the Yugoslavs to discount any effect of their actions--as happened in the case of the release of the prisoners.

And of the leadership, however, a wind different from that of the Titici is blowing. In the direction of realism, moderation and a cautious opening up towards the West.

There is a 5-member State Presidium and the 23-member party presidium headed by Tito. The party, but de facto it is a smaller informal group, which in mid-February, in January, that is consolidating its authority. There is a kind of division of labor, with Bakaric apparently responsible for internal affairs, Minic for foreign affairs, Secretary of Defense General Miroslav Ninkovic and Bolanc for questions of ideology and the system.

In addition there is Grlickov, who tends to foreign relations of the party and also the Croatian Mikulic from Bosnia, who had increasingly dropped his original conservative inclinations and week before last delivered an openminded and moderate speech at a congress of academics in Bled, at which Bakaric had spoken as well. There are no friends of the Soviet Union in this group.

How this "information group" can definitively consolidate remains to be seen. Bakaric, Minic and Grlickov are known to have medical problems. Minic enjoys only limited support in the party organization of Serbia, his home republic. It was Tito who placed him at the head of the foreign policy apparatus. Dragoslav Markovic, today president of parliament, continues to be the leader enjoying the greatest prestige in Serbia. It is also striking that within the "information group" no one is responsible for the economy, despite the fact that Yugoslavia at present is very heavily burdened with economic problems.

It is the economic problems which, on the other hand, are expected to give the greatest impetus toward a more liberal handling of power. At least among part of the leading personalities a firm opinion appears to have formed to the effect that one cannot expect economic stabilization without also further democratizing the political system. The strength of the economy, this opinion holds, can be increased only by giving it both greater authority and more money. Finally, Dolanc reportedly wants private initiative to be given greater scope, private agriculture to be placed more favorably and private capital for investments to be used also in industry. These are demands that are not likely to be met with approval throughout the ranks of the functionaries; against Dolanc a front formed already after the last party congress in the summer of 1978--at that time under the leadership of the Bosnian Mijatovic. The new leadership group will move cautiously. Nor is it likely to allow any of its members to jump out in front. But on the whole (at least that is the impression at the moment) it will get going in a direction corresponding to the country's requirements.

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## PARTY WEEKLY DISCUSSES 'NEW PRACTICE OF MARXISM'

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 80 p 24

[Article by Prvoslav Ralic]

[Text] A Real Debt

We have changed a great deal since those first years after the armed revolution, a friend reminds me. At that time we felt a debt to the future generations. We worked and lived accordingly. We were building socialism for our children and grandchildren, and we had higher goals. Today it seems as if we are doing the reverse: we are going in debt at the expense of future generations. Aren't we living too much, he asked me, on the principle "Just give it to us today." Why is it we have to face such debts?

I was not prepared to converse with my friend about debts which run into the billions of dollars. I simply did not believe that these debts did not conform to some economic logic: both those which we desire and those we are compelled to incur because of the international economic situation. But my friend, nevertheless, compelled me to think about what our real debt is. After all, I believe that all our numerous debts cannot be commensurable with the strength of the political capital which this society has. This is not abstract capital at all. This is capital which is indicative of our own internal ability to extend the steps of this revolution, to avoid confusing its goals either with dogmatic constructions concerning "higher goals" or with the bourgeois reduction of man to an "economic animal." We want a socialism which is measured in terms of the richness of human life, in terms of personal happiness, a humanistic community, a socialism in which man's first need is the need for his fellow man. Thus our debts are different ones altogether.

It is our debt to lay bare the reasons why stagnation has built up in our real socioeconomic and political relations and to eliminate the reasons for these delays. It is our debt to overcome formalism in the application of the idea of self-management, since it is that formalism that is choking the idea and the practice of self-managed associated labor. Nor do we have the

necessary answer to the question of how far we have succeeded in applying the SFRY Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor in real relations. We must actually be anxious about the debt which we owe to the new practice of Marxism, since it is that practice which has called into question the old Marxist theory and the traditionalist legacy in economic and political life. Here there is no need to do anything spectacular. The new practice of Marxism does not lie in the heads of the politicians and the theoreticians, but in the awakened and organized interests of the basic social vehicle of our revolution. Many unnecessary debts would vanish more quickly if those interests were closer to the foundation of our economic and political life.

### It Is Not a Time for Demagogues

The logic of resistance to real ideas is a strange one. From the outset and thereafter it speaks only about the ways in which it can degenerate, and a deliberate silence is kept about what it could mean in creating new space for human freedom. This kind of logic also comes down hard on the idea of collective work and decisionmaking.

We must frankly admit that some of our political people, quite a few of them, have at the least been confused by the idea of collective leadership because of the inertia of the old consciousness and of the new politicized consciousness. There is quite a bit of strength in opportunism fed by the unnecessary political professionalism, which has been long-lasting, to the point where the development of self-management is one thing, while politics, administration and management are something else. At times this confusion even takes on the form of resistance, backed up with its own theory or the form of silent hedging on the calculation that the particular idea should be accepted until it loses its "temporary political force." Some of the roots of this kind of resistance lie in the irrational political expectations that have not been overcome to the effect that even in the future of this country political power accountable to no one and political authority will in and of themselves continue to win political respect, status and privileges.

One hears many demagogic political assessments from those who represent this kind of resistance. These are the people who find it easy to pronounce ready-made judgments on the political and economic situation even without knowing the real relations in society. After all, they have no need of either Marxist theory or practice as a criterion of truthfulness. They derive the truth from the authority of their function. It is hard for "career" politicians to learn, to read, to study and to analyze social practice. Instead of that they have a good knowledge of the "political tradition": preserving their status by means of connections with people based on interest, winning people over with "political bon ton," binding people to them with promises that a portion of their "influence" will be passed on to them. Here the arguments of theory and practice are not essential, the important thing is the "response" which their political assessment has in the consciousness of their followers rather than how it is

accepted in the fabric of society and whether it has an effective impact on the political relation in production.

I do not believe that time is on the side of these people. In their vain belief that political authority has a power of its own, they do not even notice the ever more widespread ironic smile and critical attitude of the working people, the self-managers. They cannot sell the political slogans which are ahead of work and outside work to those who work. The anachronistic "master and leader," he who claims to be the leader on every topic, is immediately exposed. There is no such person. Everyone knows that except they themselves.

### The Questions Are Seeking an Answer

It is a good thing, in my opinion, that the League of Communists has down through its revolutionary tradition put the question of its vanguard spirit on the agenda more and more frequently. The pitfalls of power, the experience of the working class movement teaches us, lead toward a party which is intellectually lazy. A revolutionary party is recognized by the very fact that it is not satisfied with the stock of theory it has mastered, by the fact that it does not use up the prestige it has won in the past. It asks itself questions, is on the lookout for new things, puts frank and critical questions to itself, and asks questions about the whole picture.

Many strategic questions of the vanguard must be kept open. Which are those questions? Here are some of them. Is a revolutionary process taking place? What are the criteria that such a process is still going on? Do the working people have empirically evident proof, proof confirmed in their own lives and social position, that the change of their identity is still going on, that their class is ceasing to be determined, that they are emerging from the world of scarcity and existential needs into a world of new and higher human needs?

Do our revolutionary changes and mere changes in people coincide? How, and to what extent? What are we doing in practice to subject political ideas, systems, institutions and processes to the only thing which remains after all politics, and that is the workingman with his interests, his needs, with the entirety of his life?

What else must we do so that the class struggle for socialist self-management continues and becomes radical to that measure which is realistically possible in historical terms? How should we avoid reduction of self-management to economic life, how are we to self-manage life as a whole?

Our revolutionary movement constantly asks where we are going, what we want, how we are doing, what sort of new political life we are becoming accustomed to, and what is the content of the life we are living, then the danger of canonization and politicization is there. So that is why these and other questions should always be kept open and new answers to them



should be sought. We cannot choose society, but we can and must change it. Change it in the direction of the prevalence of the communist way of life over the bureaucratic-technical way of life and the bourgeois way of life.

#### The Worker Creates Man

In his party organization the streetsweeper is not merely and above all a streetsweeper, someone once rightly said. He is a member of the party which is to call into question the streetsweeper who works routinely and painstakingly under circumstances which are not worthy of human nature. The party is not there to cover and maintain existing labor and the existing socioeconomic position of people, but to organize and promote the ideological and political struggle to change the existing world of labor and people's position in it.

The university professor and the political official, by the same analogy, are not in the party organization just to be professors or politicians, but to be equal members of an organization which does not exist for people in it to think in terms of their own field, of divided labor, of their own guild, but to think, create and act from the standpoint of the worker, who alone can create a man from himself, the professor and the official. Without relations of that kind within the party there could be no collective party creativity. Unless there is a kind of social bookkeeping as to what is actually happening with actual people, as to whether the change of their socioeconomic position is still taking place, and as to whether their independence is developing, there are no true criteria by which to judge the revolution and its vanguard activity in concrete terms.

Foreign newsmen are paying us compliments these days that we have passed the examination as to life, as they put it, "when Tito is gone." We do not have to accept those compliments; on the contrary, we must reject them--not for ideological reasons, but for real reasons. There simply will not be any period after Tito is gone. The evidence of this is in the very achievements of our revolution. There will only be a time which will demand new creativity and a new practice of Marxism in Tito's steps and with the Titoist essence of the Yugoslav socialist revolution.

7045

USO: 2800

OPERATING PROCEDURE OF FEDERAL PUBLIC COUNCIL FOR MATTERS RELATED TO SOCIAL ORDER

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 5, 1 Feb 80 pp 164-169

[Operating procedure adopted by participants in the proceedings of the Federal Public Council for Matters Related to the Social Order in a session of the Council on 11 January 1980]

[Text] I. Basic Provisions

Article 1

The Federal Public Council for Matters Related to the Social Order (hereafter referred to as the "Council") shall perform the tasks set forth in the Law on the Bases of Public Councils and on Federal Public Councils in Meetings.

Participants in the proceedings of the Council shall perform their role through their delegates.

Article 2

Every participant in the proceedings of the Council shall have the right to propose consideration of a particular matter in a meeting of the Council, the decision to be made by the Council.

The Council's coordinating committee shall examine the initiative referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article and shall inform the Council of its opinion concerning the initiative submitted.

The Council's coordinating committee shall inform the proponent of the proposal and initiative concerning the Council's determination on the proposal or initiative which has been examined.

### Article 3

Participants in the proceedings of the Council shall designate their delegates as a function of the matters which are on the agenda of the meeting of the Council and shall be mindful of the appropriate continuity in examination of matters which have already been on the agenda of a meeting of the Council.

Every participant in the proceedings of the Council may designate as many as three delegates to a meeting of the Council unless the Council's coordinating committee specifies otherwise for a particular meeting.

### Article 4

As a rule the consideration of particular matters in a meeting of the Council shall be based on prior consultations in appropriate organs or bodies of the participants in the proceedings of the Council.

The participants in the proceedings of the Council shall endeavor in the prior consultations, in view of the nature of the matters which are on the agenda of the Council's meeting, to see that they receive full professional, scientific and ideological-political examination.

### Article 5

Participants in the proceedings of the Council shall cooperate through the Council's coordinating committee in order to prepare the meetings of the Council and to perform other tasks which help the Council to work more effectively.

### Article 6

The proceedings of the Council shall be public.

Representatives of the news media shall attend the meeting of the Council in order to inform the public about the work of the Council and about the matters which are under consideration in its meeting.

### Article 7

The Council shall inform the public in a suitable way concerning the program and results of its work.

### Article 8

The Council's coordinating committee may decide with the prior consent of participants in the proceedings of the Council to deliberate certain or all matters in the meeting of the Council in the absence of representatives of the news media if the interests of the country's security or defense or other public interests so require.

## Article 9

The Council's coordinating committee may issue a communique for the news media on the matters which have been deliberated in closed session.

The Council or the Council's coordinating committee may authorize the chairman of the Council to establish the text of the communique.

Following a meeting of the Council the chairman of the Council or person whom he designates may meet with representatives of the news media who have followed the proceedings of the Council to provide pertinent clarifications.

## 11. The Council's Work Program

### Article 10

The Council shall adopt a program outlining its work (hereafter referred to as the "work program") in order to perform its functions and execute the tasks for which it is competent.

In drafting the work program the Council shall take as its point of departure the proposals of participants in the proceedings of the Council, who should ascertain and propose those questions of principle and other general issues within their own programs on which they desire joint proposals and opinions to be adopted in a meeting of the Council.

The participants in the proceedings of the Council shall see that prior consultations on the topics which are on the agenda of a meeting of the Council are conducted in good time.

### Article 11

The work program shall be adopted for a period of 1 year, but it may also be adopted for a longer period of time.

On the basis of the annual work program the Council's coordinating committee, with consent of the Council, may adopt a schedule for carrying it out in an order of priority governing consideration of particular matters over a shorter period of time.

### Article 12

The work program shall specifically contain the following:

1. Topics or matters which the Council is to examine in the period covered by the program;

2) those responsible for the specialized tasks of preparing various materials as set forth in the work program;

3) approximate dates by which the various matters will be taken under consideration;

4) a brief justification for taking the various topics under consideration.

The Council may also consider on the coordinating committee's recommendation matters which have not been included in the work program but have been sent to the Council in the context of Article 2 of this operating procedure if the participants in the proceedings of the Council judge that broader consultations need to be conducted and joint consensus obtained on these matters in a meeting of the Council.

#### Article 13

The draft of the work program shall be sent to participants in the proceedings of the Council and to interested bodies, agencies and organizations for their opinions, proposals and suggestions.

On the basis of the opinions, proposals and suggestions the Council's coordinating committee shall approve the proposed version of the work program.

The work program shall be adopted in a session of the Council.

#### Article 14

The work program shall be sent to participants in the proceedings of the Council and to interested bodies and agencies, organizations and communities and may be made public in the appropriate manner.

### III. Preparation of the Council's Meetings

#### Article 15

Matters shall be deliberated in the meetings of the Council on the basis of material prepared and delivered in advance.

The proponent or initiator of a particular matter's consideration in a meeting of the Council may when proposing inclusion in the work program assume the obligation to provide for preparation of the necessary materials on this matter for the meeting of the Council or may recommend to the Council's coordinating committee the body or agency or organization which should prepare the material.

If the proponent or initiator of a particular matter's consideration in a meeting of the Council has not assumed the obligation to prepare the necessary material, the material shall be prepared by the competent body or



agency or organization which has jurisdiction over the matter which is the subject of consideration in the meeting of the Council.

#### Article 16

When the Council deems it expedient, it may establish working bodies of the Council (commissions, working groups, etc.) to study and examine particular matters and to prepare materials or opinions and proposals for a meeting of the Council.

As an exception, if the urgency of affairs and tasks so requires, the Council's coordinating committee may resolve to establish a working body as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, but it must so inform the Council in the next meeting.

The composition of the working bodies of the Council shall be set forth by the Council's coordinating committee as a function of the nature of the work assignment.

#### Article 17

As a rule the material which is prepared for a meeting of the Council shall contain the basic issues on which opinions are to be exchanged in the meeting of the Council, a brief survey of the situation or of the content of the question raised, proposals concerning relevant solutions to the outstanding questions of principle accompanied by supporting arguments and possibly alternatives as well, and a survey of the consequences that ensue from the various solutions.

The basic material for the meeting of the Council may also contain more extensive documentation (complete text of a law, information report, analysis, etc.), which may contribute to a more complete examination of the principal matters and outstanding issues.

#### Article 18

The material prepared for a meeting of the Council shall be delivered in the necessary number of copies to participants in the proceedings of the Council for the purpose of prior consultations no later than 30 days before the date set for the meeting of the Council at which this material is to be taken under consideration.

As an exception, if urgency requires that opinions and proposals on some matter be expressed at the earliest date in the Council, the meeting of the Council may be held even though the material has been delivered no sooner than 14 days before the date set for holding the meeting of the Council at which this material is to be taken under consideration.

#### Article 19

For the sake of timely familiarization with the materials to be taken under consideration in a meeting of the Council the materials shall be delivered through the Federal Secretariat for Information to representatives of the news media, unless the material has been marked strictly confidential or solely for internal use.

#### Article 20

The proponent of the material, the body preparing the particular material, the Council's coordinating committee or the chairman of the Council, if they judge it to be important to protecting a particular public interest, shall assign the appropriate level of confidentiality to the materials which have been prepared for the meeting of the Council.

In the meeting, before commencement of consideration of the materials which have been prepared within the framework of the Council, the Council may reassess the level of confidentiality which has been assigned and change it.

#### Article 21

The agenda of the meeting of the Council shall be proposed, following prior consultation of the Council's coordinating committee, by the chairman of the Council, who shall be mindful of the tasks and the deadlines set forth in the work program of the Council and of the proposals and initiatives of participants in the proceedings of the Council when there is a need to examine a particular topic which has not been foreseen in the Council's work program.

#### Article 22

The meeting of the Council shall be convened by the president of the Council on his own initiative, on proposal of the Council's coordinating committee or on proposal of one or more participants in the proceedings of the Council.

The Council's coordinating committee may propose before a meeting of the Council the manner in which a proposed topic shall be considered and shall communicate this in good time to the participants in the proceedings of the Council.

#### Article 23

The notice on the calling of the meeting of the Council shall be delivered to the participants in the proceedings of the Council and to appropriate republic or provincial councils unless a relevant act in the socialist republic and socialist autonomous province specifies otherwise.

#### Article 24

The notice on the calling of a meeting of the Council, along with the materials which have been prepared, shall be delivered to the following: the director and members of the working body of the Council which has prepared the material for the meeting of the Council and to other institutions depending on the matters which are on the agenda of the Council and in accordance with the resolution of the Council's coordinating committee.

#### Article 25

A summons to a meeting of the Council for participation in the proceedings of the Council in connection with a particular matter shall also be delivered along with the materials which have been prepared to the official who heads a federal administrative agency or federal organization when there are matters on the agenda which fall in the jurisdiction of the agency or organization which he heads.

#### Article 26

A summons to a meeting of the Council, along with the materials which have been prepared, shall be delivered to scientific, professional and other organizations and communities and to sociopolitical, scientific, professional and other public figures as specified by the Council's coordinating committee after having obtained the opinion of participants in the proceedings of the Council.

A summons to the meeting of the Council along with the materials which have been prepared shall also be delivered to the directors of the working bodies of the Council whose task is directly related to the subject under consideration in the meeting of the Council.

#### IV. Meetings of the Council and Adoption of Resolutions in the Meetings of the Council

#### Article 27

The Council may conduct proceedings if the meeting is attended by the delegates of a majority of the participants in the proceedings of the Council.

The meeting of the Council shall commence with adoption of the agenda.

On the action of the chairman of the Council, depending on the nature of the topics which are on the agenda and other circumstances, before passing on to the agenda, the Council shall adopt the procedure to be followed and ascertain other circumstances important to efficient and effective work.

#### Article 28

The matters which are on the agenda of the meeting of the Council shall be debated in the meetings of the Council, opinions shall be expressed, and proposals shall be made for reconciling opinions.

The opinions and proposals of the Council shall either be unanimously adopted or shall be adopted in the form of alternatives on the basis of the positions taken by participants in the proceedings of the Council whose delegates are attending the meeting of the Council.

If it finds that great differences in opinion have been expressed on particular matters, the Council may propose to the participants in the proceedings that they reexamine the matters in dispute or may recommend that they resume mutual consultations so as to find joint solutions.

#### Article 29

At the commencement of debate of each point on the agenda of the meeting of the Council the person who has prepared the material or proposed consideration of that point of the agenda may furnish introductory remarks or additional arguments on the outstanding questions of principle and on the proposals on which the Council needs to take a position.

#### Article 30

The chairman of the Council must familiarize those present in the meeting of the Council with the content of the proposals and opinions which in relation to the questions on the agenda of the meeting of the Council have been submitted in writing before the meeting of the Council.

#### Article 31

When he finds that there are no more speakers on a particular subject, the chairman of the Council must state whether opinions and proposals are unanimous or different opinions and proposals have been presented.

#### Article 32

Minutes shall be kept on proceedings in the meeting of the Council.

The minutes shall contain the following: the name of the person chairing the meeting, the names of those attending, the agenda of the meeting, the names of participants in the debate, the length of the meeting and the proposals and opinions of the Council unless the Council or Council's coordinating committee resolves that a special report shall be prepared on that matter.

The report on the opinions and proposals presented in a meeting of the Council shall be verified by the Council or the Council's coordinating committee if the Council so authorizes it.

A delegate of a participant in the proceedings of the Council who has held a divergent opinion on a particular matter may request that that opinion be entered in the minutes or the report.

The minutes shall be delivered to the participants in the proceedings of the Council and shall be verified in a meeting of the Council's coordinating committee.

The provisions of this article shall also be appropriately applied to meetings of the Council's coordinating committee.

#### Article 33

As a rule the course of the Council's meeting shall be taped or a transcript shall be made.

The tape or transcript of the meeting of the Council shall constitute an integral part of the minutes and shall be marked "unauthorized text for internal use only."

The Council or Council's coordinating committee may decide that a particular tape or transcript shall be regarded as confidential.

The tape and transcript shall be delivered to the bodies, agencies and organizations participating in the proceedings of the Council and to the working bodies which will work on implementation of the positions taken by the Council, no later than 5 days after the day when the meeting of the Council was held.

The tape and transcript shall also be delivered to the documentation service of the SPRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council for indexing and filing by topics and appropriate fields.

The tape and transcript may be made available for broader use solely on the basis of a resolution of the Council's coordinating committee.

#### Article 34

The Council may hold joint meetings with other federal public councils when a resolution to that effect is made in a meeting of the coordinating committees of the Councils on the basis of the need for a fuller examination of the matters which are the subject of joint consideration.

The joint session shall be chaired on a rotating basis according to the agreement reached by the chairmen of the federal public councils.

## V. The Council's Coordinating Committee

### Article 35

As a rule the Council's coordinating committee shall have a permanent membership and shall consist of one delegate from each of the participants in the proceedings of the Council and the chairman of the Council.

The members of the Council's coordinating committee from the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces shall be the chairmen of the corresponding councils of the republics and provinces unless law or other act in the socialist republic or socialist autonomous province provides otherwise.

Only delegates of the participants in the proceedings of the Council from the Federation shall participate in the proceedings of the Council's coordinating committee in cases in which the Council's coordinating committee performs the following functions:

- 1) designates the bodies, agencies and organizations and scientific, professional and other public figures whose participation is to be provided for in a meeting of the Council, in accordance with the criteria set forth by the Council;
- 2) verifies minutes from meetings of the Council and coordinating committee;
- 3) establishes the working bodies of the Council on the basis of Council resolutions;
- 4) and also performs other tasks pertaining to preparation of a meeting of the Council (proposal of the agenda, convening the meeting of the Council, examination of initiatives submitted, etc.).

### Article 36

The Council's coordinating committee shall perform the following functions:

- 1) adopt the draft and proposed version of the Council's work program;
- 2) verify proposals, opinions, reports and other materials when so authorized by Council resolution;
- 3) designate bodies and organizations whose participation in a meeting of the Council is to be provided for depending on the matters which are on the agenda of the meeting of the Council and in conformity with the criteria set forth by the Council;
- 4) verify minutes from the meeting of the Council;



- 5) nominate to the Council a candidate for secretary of the Council;
- 6) establish the working bodies of the Council on the basis of Council resolution;
- 7) and also perform other tasks as authorized by the Council.

#### Article 37

The Council's coordinating committee may in accordance with the work program commission particular scientific, professional and other public figures of scientific institutions to do the scientific work on particular matters to meet the needs of the Council.

#### Article 38

As an exception the Council's coordinating committee may propose in conformity with the work program and consistent with Council resolution the organization of special scientific and professional meetings (scientific conferences, round-tables, etc.) for the examination of particular matters.

The Council's coordinating committee may in particularly justified cases recommend even material incentives--participation in funds to reimburse necessary costs--for the organization of scientific meetings organized by specialized professional associations or scientific institutions (university schools, academies, institutes, etc.) on matters envisaged by the work program.

#### Article 39

When in preparation of a joint session of federal public councils matters pertaining to the work of federal public councils are taken up, joint sessions of the coordinating committees may be held which are convened and chaired by the chairmen of the federal public councils on a rotating basis by agreement.

#### VI. The Chairman of the Council

#### Article 40

The chairman of the Council shall be chosen by the Council on the basis of an agreement among the participants in the proceedings of the Council.

Each participant in the proceedings of the Council may nominate a candidate for chairman of the Council.

The nomination of a candidate for chairman of the Council shall be delivered through the Council's coordinating committee to the coordinating commission of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia for personnel policy in the Federation, which shall affirm the nomination of the

candidate for chairman of the Council and shall deliver it through the Council's coordinating committee to all participants in the proceedings of the Council.

The chairman of the Council shall be chosen by agreement of all participants in the proceedings of the Council.

The chairman of the Council shall exercise those rights by authority of the Council which the Council sets forth in accordance with the Law on Personal Incomes of Officials Elected or Appointed by the SFRY Assembly and Compensation of Personal Incomes of Delegates in the SFRY Assembly and the Social Compact on the Bases and Scales for Alignment of Personal Incomes and Other Benefits of Federal Officials.

The decision on election of a chairman of the Council shall be published in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

#### Article 41

The chairman of the Council shall perform the following functions:

- 1) convene meetings of the Council;
- 2) propose the agenda of the meeting of the Council;
- 3) chair meetings of the Council and the Council's coordinating committee;
- 4) see to performance of the Council's work program;
- 5) see to implementation of the resolutions of the Council and the Council's coordinating committee;
- 6) conduct prior consultations with those making introductory presentations on a topic which is the subject of consideration in the meeting of the Council;
- 7) see to realization of the principle that the Council's proceedings shall be public.

The chairman of the Council shall also perform other tasks and duties assigned him by the Council or Council's coordinating committee.

#### Article 42

The chairman of the Council may decide to summon to particular meetings of the Council's coordinating committee representatives of appropriate federal bodies and agencies, organizations and communities, directors of the relevant working bodies of the Council or other interested persons depending on the matters which are on the agenda of the meeting of the Council's coordinating committee.

#### Article 43

The chairman of the Council shall inform the Council's coordinating committee on individual petitions of the working people and citizens sent to the Council or to the chairman of the Council which contain questions of principle in the domain of the social order.

#### Article 44

Should the chairman of the Council be incapacitated, the duties of the chairman of the Council shall be performed by one of the members of the Council's coordinating committee as designated by the Council's coordinating committee.

#### VII. The Secretary of the Council and Performance of Technical Functions To Meet the Needs of the Council and Its Working Bodies

#### Article 45

The secretary of the Council shall be nominated by the Council's coordinating committee and appointed by the Council.

The decision appointing the secretary of the Council shall be published in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

#### Article 46

The secretary of the Council shall perform the following functions:

- 1) aid the chairman of the Council in organizing the work of the Council and of the Council's coordinating committee;
- 2) follow and organize the work of the working bodies of the Council, in whose proceedings he may also participate;
- 3) supervise the technical staff service of the Council, for whose work he is accountable;
- 4) aid the chairman of the Council in carrying out the Council's work program and the resolutions of the Council and the Council's coordinating committee and participate in its proceedings;
- 5) see to enforcement of the Council's operating procedure;
- 6) and also perform other duties on the basis of resolution of the Council and the Council's coordinating committee.

#### Article 47

The secretary of the Council shall act as controller in dispersal of the funds approved for the work of the Council and shall be accountable for the lawful use of those funds.

#### Article 48

The secretary of the Council shall have the rights by authority of the Council set forth by the Council's coordinating committee in accordance with the Social Compact on the Bases and Scales for Alignment of Personal Incomes and Other Benefits of Federal Officials.

#### Article 49

Technical and other tasks to meet the needs of the Council, the Council's coordinating committee and the working bodies of the Council shall be performed by the technical staff service of the Council, as a separate organizational unit in the framework of the General Secretariat of the Federal Executive Council.

The technical staff service of the Council shall conduct certain analytical, professional and other functions, especially in connection with the following:

- i. preparation of the Council's work program;
- ii. preparation of the meetings of the Council and of the Council's coordinating committee;
- iii. organizing the meetings of the working bodies of the Council and participation of specialists in the work of the working bodies of the Council;
- iv. processing of materials from meetings of the Council and the Council's coordinating committee and the working bodies of the Council (minutes, reports, summaries, transcripts, etc.) in accordance with resolution of the Council or the Council's coordinating committee.

On the basis of a resolution of the Council or the Council's coordinating committee the technical staff service of the Council shall obtain from the competent bodies and agencies the data, documentation and other information necessary for the work of the Council.

#### VIII. Transitional and Final Provisions

#### Article 50

The operating procedure of the Council for Matters Related to the Social Order adopted in a meeting of the Council's coordinating committee on

22 May 1975 shall cease to be valid on the day when this operating procedure takes effect.

Article 51

This operating procedure shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

No 04-04-30/80

Belgrade, 11 January 1980

Federal Public Council  
for Matters Related to the Social Order

Chairman of the Council,  
Mirko Popovic (signed)

7045

CSO: 2800

OPERATING PROCEDURE OF FEDERAL PUBLIC COUNCIL FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT,  
ECONOMIC POLICY

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 5, 1 Feb 80 pp 169-173

[Operating procedure adopted by the Federal Public Council for Economic Development and Economic Policy in a session on 14 January 1980]

[Text] I. Basic Provisions

Article 1

The Federal Public Council for Economic Development and Economic Policy (hereafter referred to as the "Council") shall perform the tasks set forth in the Law on the Bases of Public Councils and on Federal Public Councils in Meetings.

The participants in the proceedings of the Council shall perform their role through their delegates.

Article 2

Each participant in the proceedings of the Council shall have the right to propose that a particular matter be taken under consideration in a meeting of the Council.

Bodies and agencies, organizations and communities which do not participate in the proceedings of the Council and working people and citizens may supply initiative for consideration of a particular matter in a meeting of the Council through a participant in the proceedings of the Council or directly to the Council.

The Council's coordinating committee shall examine the initiatives referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article, and it may also examine proposals referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article and shall inform the Council of its opinion in connection with the initiatives and proposals submitted.



The Council's coordinating committee shall inform the proponent of the proposal and initiative on the Council's determination in connection with the proposal and initiative it has considered.

#### Article 3

Participants in the proceedings of the Council shall designate their delegates depending on the matters which are on the agenda of the meeting of the Council and shall be mindful of the appropriate continuity in consideration of matters which have already been on the agenda of the meeting of the Council.

Each participant in the proceedings of the Council may designate as many as three delegates for a meeting of the Council unless the Council's coordinating committee specifies otherwise for a particular meeting.

#### Article 4

As a rule particular matters shall be taken under consideration in a meeting of the Council on the basis of prior consultations with appropriate organs or bodies of the participants in the proceedings of the Council and with scientific and professional institutions which they engage.

#### Article 5

The participants in the proceedings of the Council shall carry on cooperation through the Council's coordinating committee in order to prepare the meetings of the Council and to perform other tasks which help to make the Council's work more effective.

#### Article 6

The proceedings of the Council shall be public.

Representatives of the news media shall attend the meeting of the Council in order to inform the public about the Council's work and about the matters under consideration in its meeting.

#### Article 7

The Council shall inform the public about the program and results of its work in a suitable manner.

#### Article 8

The Council's coordinating committee may decide that certain or all matters be considered in a meeting of the Council in the absence of representatives of the news media if the interests of the country's security or defense or other public interests so require.

## Article 9

The Council's coordinating committee may on the basis of Council resolution issue a communique for the news media on the matters which have been under consideration in a closed session.

The Council or the Council's coordinating committee may authorize the chairman of the Council to affirm the text of the communique.

Following a meeting of the Council the chairman of the Council or person whom he designates may meet with representatives of the news media who have followed the proceedings of the Council to provide relevant clarification.

## II. The Council's Work Program

### Article 10

The Council shall adopt a program outlining its work (hereafter referred to as the "work program") in order to perform its functions and execute the tasks for which it is competent.

In drafting the work program the Council shall take as its point of departure the proposals of the participants in the proceedings of the Council, who are to ascertain and propose on which questions of principle and other general issues within their own programs they wish joint proposals and opinions to be adopted in a meeting of the Council.

The participants in the proceedings of the Council should engage in mutual adjustment of their proposals for the work program and the relevant deadlines and should adjust those proposals and deadlines with their own work program so as to ensure that the opinions of the Council are obtained in good time.

### Article 11

The work program shall be adopted to cover a period of 1 year, but it may also be adopted for a longer period of time.

On the basis of the annual work program the Council's coordinating committee may adopt with the Council's consent a schedule for its fulfillment or an order of priority for consideration of particular matters over a shorter period of time.

### Article 12

The draft of the work program shall be delivered to participants in the proceedings of the Council and to interested bodies and agencies and organizations for their opinions, proposals and suggestions.

The proposed version of the work program shall be adopted by the Council's coordinating committee on the basis of the opinions, proposals and suggestions and shall be submitted to the participants in the proceedings of the Council.

The work program shall be adopted in a meeting of the Council.

#### Article 13

The work program shall be delivered to the participants in the proceedings of the Council and to interested bodies and agencies, organizations and communities, and it may be published in an appropriate way.

#### III. Preparation of Meetings of the Council

#### Article 14

Matters shall be taken under consideration in meetings of the Council on the basis of material prepared and delivered in advance.

The proponent or initiator of a particular matter's consideration in a meeting of the Council may assume the obligation when he proposes inclusion in the work program to provide for preparation of the necessary materials on this matter for the meeting of the Council or may recommend to the Council's coordinating committee the body or agency or organization which should prepare the material.

#### Article 15

When it deems it expedient, the Council may establish the working bodies of the Council (commissions, working groups, etc.) to study and examine particular matters and to prepare materials or opinions and proposals for a meeting of the Council.

As an exception, when the urgency of the tasks and functions so require, the Council's coordinating committee may by resolution establish a working body as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, but it must so inform the Council in the next meeting.

The composition of the working bodies of the Council shall be established by the Council's coordinating committee as a function of the nature of the work assignment.

#### Article 16

The material prepared for a meeting of the Council shall as a rule contain the basic issues on which opinions are to be exchanged in the meeting of the Council, a brief survey of the situation or content of the question raised, proposals for relevant solutions to the outstanding questions of

principle along with supporting arguments and possibly including alternatives, and a survey of the consequences that ensue from the various solutions.

The basic material for the meeting of the Council may also contain broader documentation (the entire text of a law, a report, analysis, etc.), which can serve for fuller examination of the basic questions and outstanding issues.

#### Article 17

The material prepared for a meeting of the Council shall be delivered in the agreed number of copies to the participants in the proceedings of the Council for the purpose of prior consultations no later than 30 days before the date set for holding the meeting of the Council at which that material is to be taken under consideration.

As an exception, when because of urgency it is necessary that the Council take appropriate positions on some matter at the earliest date, a meeting of the Council may be held even if the material has been delivered no sooner than 14 days before the holding of the meeting.

#### Article 18

For the sake of timely familiarization with the material being taken under consideration in a meeting of the Council, the material shall be delivered through the Federal Secretariat for Information to representatives of the news media unless the material has been classified as strictly confidential or exclusively for internal use.

#### Article 19

The proponent of the material, the body preparing the particular material, the Council's coordinating committee or chairman of the Council, if they deem it important to protection of a particular public interest, shall assign the appropriate level of confidentiality to the materials which have been prepared for the meeting of the Council.

In the meeting, before commencement of consideration of the material referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, the Council may again evaluate the level of confidentiality assigned and change it.

#### Article 20

The agenda of the meeting of the Council shall be proposed after prior consultation of the Council's coordinating committee by the chairman of the Council, mindful of the tasks and deadlines set forth in the Council's work program and also of proposals and initiatives of participants in the proceedings of the Council when it is necessary to examine a particular topic or particular matter which has not been foreseen by the work program.

#### Article 21

The meeting of the Council shall be convened by the chairman of the Council on his own initiative, on the proposal of the Council's coordinating committee or on the proposal of one or more participants in the proceedings of the Council.

The Council's coordinating committee may propose before a meeting of the Council the manner in which the proposed topic is to be considered and it shall so inform the participants in the proceedings of the Council in good time.

#### Article 22

The notice on the calling of a meeting of the Council shall be delivered to participants in the proceedings of the Council and to the corresponding republics and provincial councils unless a relevant act in the socialist republic or socialist autonomous province has provided otherwise and also to other bodies and agencies which the Council's coordinating committee has resolved to summon to the meeting of the Council.

#### Article 23

A summons to a meeting of the Council for participation in the proceedings of the Council on a particular matter shall also be delivered along with the materials prepared to the official who heads a federal administrative agency or federal organization when matters in the jurisdiction of the agency or organization which he heads are on the agenda.

#### Article 24

The summons to a meeting of the Council shall be delivered along with the materials prepared to scientific, professional and other organizations and communities and to sociopolitical, scientific, professional and other public figures as designated by the Council's coordinating committee after having obtained the opinion of participants in the proceedings of the Council.

The summons to a meeting of the Council shall also be delivered along with the materials prepared to the directors of the working bodies of the Council whose task is directly related to the subject matter under consideration in the Council.

#### IV. Meetings of the Council and Adoption of Resolutions in the Meetings of the Council

#### Article 25

The Council may conduct its business if the meeting is attended by delegates of a majority of the participants in the proceedings of the Council.

The meeting of the Council shall begin by adoption of the agenda.

On the motion of the chairman of the Council, depending on the nature of the topics which are on the agenda and other circumstances, before passing on to the agenda the Council shall establish the method of operation and other circumstances important to efficient and effective work.

#### Article 26

The matters which are on the agenda of the meeting of the Council shall be debated in the meetings of the Council, and opinions and proposals shall be expressed so that they might be reconciled.

Opinions and proposals of the Council shall be set forth either on the basis of unanimity or in the form of alternatives on the basis of positions taken by the participants in the proceedings of the Council whose delegates attend the meeting of the Council.

If the Council finds that great differences in opinion have been expressed on particular matters, the Council may propose to the participants in its proceedings that they reexamine the questions in dispute or may recommend that they resume mutual consultations in order to find joint solutions.

#### Article 27

At the beginning of debate on each point of the agenda of the meeting of the Council the person who has prepared the material or proposed consideration of that point of the agenda may furnish introductory remarks or additional arguments on outstanding questions of principle and the proposals on which the Council is to take a position.

#### Article 28

The chairman of the Council must familiarize those present in a meeting of the Council with the content of proposals and opinions on the questions on the agenda of the meeting of the Council which have been submitted in writing prior to the meeting of the Council.

#### Article 29

When he finds that there are no more speakers on a particular subject, the chairman of the Council must take note whether opinions and proposals are unanimous or differing opinions and proposals have been presented, and he shall propose the subsequent procedure to be followed in a meeting of the Council.

#### Article 30

Minutes shall be kept on proceedings in the meeting of the Council.



The minutes shall contain the following: the name of the person chairing the meeting, the names of those attending, the agenda of the meeting, the names of participants in the debate, the duration of the meeting and the proposals and opinions adopted by the Council unless the Council or Council's coordinating committee resolves to prepare a specific report on this matter.

The report on the opinions and proposals presented in the meeting of the Council shall be verified by the Council or the Council's coordinating committee if the Council so authorizes it.

A delegate of a participant in the proceedings of the Council who has presented a divergent opinion on a particular matter may request that that opinion be entered in the minutes or the report.

The minutes shall be delivered to the participants in the proceedings of the Council and shall be verified in the meeting of the Council's coordinating committee.

The provisions of this article shall also be appropriately applied to meetings of the Council's coordinating committee.

#### Article 31

As a rule the course of the meeting of the Council shall be taped, or a transcript shall be made.

The tape or transcript of the meeting of the Council shall be an integral part of the minutes.

The Council or Council's coordinating committee may decide that a particular tape or transcript shall be regarded as confidential.

The tape and transcript shall be delivered to the bodies, agencies and organizations which participate in the proceedings of the Council as well as to the working bodies which will be working on implementation of the positions taken by the Council no later than 5 days after the date when the meeting of the Council was held.

#### Article 32

The Council may hold joint sessions with other federal public councils when it has resolved in a meeting of the coordinating committees of those councils, on the basis of the need for fuller examination of those issues which are the subject of joint consideration.

The joint sessions shall be chaired on a rotating basis according to the agreement reached by the chairmen of the federal public councils.

## V. The Council's Coordinating Committee

### Article 33

As a rule the Council's coordinating committee shall be permanent in its membership and shall consist of one delegate from each of the participants in the proceedings of the Council and the chairman of the Council.

The members of the Council's coordinating committee from the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces shall be the chairmen of the corresponding republic and provincial councils unless law or other act in the socialist republic or socialist autonomous province provides otherwise.

Only the delegates of the participants in the proceedings of the Council from the Federation shall participate in the work of the Council's coordinating committee in cases in which the Council's coordinating committee performs the following functions:

- 1) designates bodies and agencies, organizations and scientific, professional and other public figures whose participation is to be provided for in a meeting of the Council, in accordance with the criteria set forth by the Council;
- 2) verifies the minutes from meetings of the Council and the Council's coordinating committee;
- 3) establishes working bodies of the Council on the basis of Council resolution;
- 4) and also performs other duties pertaining to preparation of a meeting of the Council (proposal of the agenda, calling the meeting of the Council, consideration of initiatives submitted, etc.).

### Article 34

The Council's coordinating committee shall perform the following functions:

- 1) take the necessary steps to prepare a meeting of the Council together with the chairman of the Council;
- 2) verify the opinions and proposals of the Council, reports and other materials which have been under consideration or which are to be considered in a meeting of the Council if so authorized by Council resolutions;
- 3) designate the bodies and agencies, organizations and communities and scientific, professional and other public figures whose participation is to be provided for in a meeting of the Council depending on the matters which are on the agenda of the Council, in accordance with the criteria set forth by the Council;

- 4) verify minutes from the meetings of the Council;
- 5) adopt the draft and proposed version of the work program;
- 6) nominate a candidate to the Council for secretary of the Council;
- 7) establish the working bodies of the Council on the basis of Council resolution;
- 8) and also perform other tasks as authorized by the Council.

#### Article 35

The Council's coordinating committee may in accordance with the work program commission particular scientific, professional and other public figures or scientific institutions to do the scientific work on particular matters for the needs of the Council.

#### Article 36

As an exception the Council's coordinating committee may propose in accordance with the work program and consistent with Council resolution the organization of particular scientific and professional meetings (scientific conferences, round-tables, etc.) to take up particular matters.

In cases which have particular justification the Council's coordinating committee may even recommend material incentives--participation in funds for compensation of necessary costs--to encourage the organization of scientific meetings organized by specialized professional associations of scientific institutions (university schools, academies, institutes, etc.) on matters envisaged by the work program.

#### Article 37

When in preparation of a joint session of the federal public councils matters pertaining to the work of the federal public councils are taken up, joint sessions may be held of the coordinating committees, which shall be called and chaired by the chairmen of the federal public councils on a rotating basis according to the agreement reached.

#### IV. The Chairman of the Council

#### Article 38

The chairman of the Council shall be chosen by the Council on the basis of an agreement among the participants in the proceedings of the Council.

Every participant in the proceedings of the Council may nominate a candidate for chairman of the Council.

The nomination of a candidate for chairman of the Council shall be delivered through the Council's coordinating committee to the coordinating commission of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia for personnel policy in the Federation, which shall affirm the nomination of the candidate for chairman of the Council and shall deliver it through the Council's coordinating committee to all participants in the proceedings of the Council.

The chairman of the Council shall be chosen by agreement among all participants in the proceedings of the Council.

The chairman of the Council shall have the rights set forth by the Council in conformity with the Law on Personal Incomes of Officials Elected and Appointed by the SFRY Assembly and the Social Compact on the Bases and Scales for Alignment of Personal Incomes and Other Benefits of Federal Officials.

The decision on election of the chairman of the Council shall be published in SLUŽBENI LIST SFRJ.

#### Article 39

The chairman of the Council shall perform the following functions:

- 1) call meetings of the Council and meetings of the Council's coordinating committee;
- 2) chair meetings of the Council and meetings of the Council's coordinating committee;
- 3) prepare the meetings of the Council and the meetings of the Council's coordinating committee;
- 4) propose the agenda of meetings of the Council and meetings of the Council's coordinating committee;
- 5) see to implementation of the resolutions of the Council and perform other functions entrusted to him by the Council.

#### Article 40

The chairman of the Council may decide to summon to particular meetings of the Council's coordinating committee representatives of appropriate federal bodies and agencies, organizations and communities, directors of relevant working bodies of the Council or other interested persons depending on the matters which are on the agenda of the meeting of the Council's coordinating committee.

#### Article 41

The chairman of the Council shall inform the Council's coordinating committee on individual petitions of working people and citizens sent to the Council or to the chairman of the Council which contain questions of principle in the domain of economic development and economic policy.

#### Article 42

If the chairman of the Council is incapacitated, the Council's coordinating committee may designate a person from among the delegates of participants in the proceedings of the Council who shall chair the meetings of the Council and of the Council's coordinating committee.

#### VII. The Secretary of the Council and Performance of Technical Tasks To Meet the Needs of the Council and Its Working Bodies

#### Article 43

The secretary of the Council shall be nominated by the Council's coordinating committee and appointed by the Council.

The secretary of the Council shall have the rights set forth by the Council in conformity with the Social Compact on the Bases and Scales for Determination of Personal Incomes and Other Benefits of Federal Officials.

The decision on appointment of the secretary of the Council shall be published in SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ.

#### Article 44

The secretary of the Council shall perform the following functions:

- 1) aid the chairman of the Council in organizing the proceedings of the Council and of the Council's coordinating committee;
- 2) follow and organize the work of the working bodies of the Council, in whose proceedings he may also participate;
- 3) direct the technical staff service of the Council, for whose work he is accountable;
- 4) aid the chairman of the Council in fulfillment of the work program of the Council and implementation of the resolutions of the Council and of the Council's coordinating committee, in whose proceedings he shall participate;
- 5) see to enforcement of the Council's operating procedure;
- 6) and also perform other functions in accordance with resolution of the Council and the Council's coordinating committee.

#### Article 45

The secretary of the Council shall be the controller for disbursement of the funds approved for the work of the Council and shall be responsible for the lawful use of those funds.

#### Article 46

Technical and other tasks to meet the needs of the Council, the Council's coordinating committee and the working bodies of the Council shall be performed by the technical staff service of the Council as a separate organizational unit within the General Secretariat of the Federal Executive Council.

The technical staff service of the Council shall perform analytical, professional and other tasks related to the following:

- i. preparation of the Council's work program;
- ii. preparation of the meetings of the Council and the Council's coordinating committee;
- iii. organizing the meetings of the working bodies of the Council;
- iv. attaining data, documentation and other information necessary for the work of the Council and the rendering of professional opinions in the work of the working bodies of the Council and the participation of staff members of the Council in the work of those working bodies;
- v. the processing of materials from meetings of the Council and the Council's coordinating committee and the working bodies of the Council (minutes, reports, summaries, transcripts, etc.).

#### VIII. Transitional and Final Provisions

#### Article 47

The operating procedure of the Council adopted in a session of the coordinating committee of the Council on 22 May 1975 shall cease to be valid on the day when this operating procedure takes effect.

#### Article 48

This operating procedure shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUŽBENI LIST SFRJ.

Belgrade, 14 January 1980

Federal Public Council for Economic Development and Economic Policy

Chairman of the Council,  
Dr Ivo Perisin (signed)



# BORDER ZONE AREAS ACCESSIBLE WITHOUT PERMITS

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 5. 1 Feb 80 pp 173-174

[Directive issued by the federal secretary for internal affairs in agreement with the federal secretary for national defense on 17 January 1980 in Belgrade]

[Text] On the basis of Article 33, Paragraph 3, and Article 34, Paragraph 4, of the Law on Crossing the National Border and Movement in the Border Zone (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 34, 1979), in agreement with the federal secretary for national defense, the federal secretary for internal affairs issues the following

## DIRECTIVE

on Designation of Portions of the Border Zone in Which Citizens of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Foreign Nationals May Move and Visit Without Permit

1. Portions of the border zone on the national border with the Republic of Italy, the Republic of Austria, the People's Republic of Hungary and the People's Republic of Bulgaria in which citizens of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia may move and visit without a permit for movement and visit in the border zone--in the daytime throughout the entire year--from 1 hour before sunrise to 1 hour after sunset, are as follows:

a) in areas of the border zone on the border with the Republic of Italy:

1) in the region of Mangart Mountain: from Kotovo Sedlo (elevation marker 2124) on the marked path leading to Vevnica (triangulation marker 2359) and the new mountain road to the summit of Mangart;

b) in areas of the border zone on the border with the Republic of Austria:

1) in the region of Golica Mountain: on the marked path from Suho Sedlo to Jeklo Sedlo to the summit of Golica (triangulation marker 1834) and elevation marker 1785;

2) in the region of Zelenica Mountain--Stol: from the mountaineer's lodge on Zelenica to the boundary line at elevation marker 1704 and from the mountaineer's lodge on Zelenica by the marked path across the rocks on the southern slope of Visoka Vrtaca and Nemski Vrh;

3) in the region of Olseva Mountain: from the highway in the village Sv. Duh in the direction of Robnik on the marked path which goes to Potocka Zijalka southeast of boundary stone XXII/9;

4) in the region of Peca Mountain: on the marked path from the mountaineer's lodge on Peca to the summit of Peca (elevation marker 2126);

c) in areas of the border zone on the border with the People's Republic of Hungary:

1) in the Koprivnica sector: on local highway No 2036, from km 21.800 to km 24, linking the villages across the Drava Gola, Gotalovo, Novacka and Otocka with the villages of Repas and Zdala in Djurdjevac Opstina;

2) in the Donji Miholjac sector: between boundary stones C-264 and C-286 in a space 200 meters wide--the public beach on the Drava;

3) in the Donji Miholjac sector: between boundary stones C-232 and C-233 downstream 150 meters from the fill--the public beach on the Drava;

d) in areas of the border zone on the border with the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

1) in the Dimitrovgrad sector: on the public highway that runs along the boundary from the village Slivnica to the village Donja Nevlja.

2. In areas of the border zone on the border with the Republic of Italy and the Republic of Austria citizens of the SFRY who are members of mountaineering clubs may move and visit the following areas on the basis of their membership card in the mountaineering club and their identity card without a permit for movement and visit in the border zone--in the daytime throughout the year in the time from 1 hour before sunrise until 1 hour after sunset, as follows:

a) in areas of the border zone on the border with the Republic of Italy:

1) in the region of Ponca Mountain: from the valley of the Planica and Tamar to Visoka Ponca (triangulation marker 2274), Srednja Ponca (triangulation marker 2231), Zadnja Ponca, Strugova Spica, Vevnica (triangulation marker 2359) to and from Kotova Spica on that same line;

2) in the region of Kanin Mountain: from the Predel border crossing (elevation marker 1156) via Nemska Glava (triangulation marker 1597) to Velika Jarebica (triangulation marker 2126) and from Velika Jarebica to Moznica;

3) in the region of Matajur Mountain: from Mrzli Vrh on the marked path along the ridge to the summit of Matajur (triangulation marker 1642) and from Visoka Glava (triangulation marker 1541) on the marked path to the summit of Matajur (triangulation marker 1642);

b) in areas of the border zone on the border with the Republic of Austria:

1) in the region of Okreselj Mountain: from Frichauf's mountaineer's lodge on Okreselj (triangulation marker 1392) on the marked path which leads via Kriz (elevation marker 2429) and Zrelo to Ceska Koca (elevation marker 1563) and to Savinjsko Sedlo, the summit of Mrzli Dol (elevation marker 2001) and the summit of Mrzla Gora (triangulation marker 2203);

2) in the region of Kosuta Mountain: from mountaineer's lodge on Kofcuh to the nameless peak (Kriz) and Veliki Vrh (triangulation marker 2086) on the marked path which leads via elevation marker 1807 to Kladio (triangulation marker 2094) and Skrbina. From Medvodje (elevation marker 970) via Dolge Njive to Kosutnikov Turn (triangulation marker 2133);

3) in the region of Zelenica Mountain--Stol: from the mountaineer's lodge on Zelinica along the upper marked path over the rocks on the south slope of Visoka Vrtaca (triangulation marker 2180) to the summit of Visoka Vrtaca and Nemski Vrh and below the notch Belscica (triangulation marker 1953) on Mali Stol to Presernova Koca and Veliki Stol (triangulation marker 2236);

4) in the region of Stol Mountain--Belscica: from Mali Stol and Presernova Koca and from Veliki Stol (triangulation marker 2236) on the marked path via Zirovnicki Stol beneath the peak with elevation marker 2017 and Vajnez (triangulation marker 2099) beneath elevation marker 1840 and Medji Dol to Javornicki Rovt;

5) in the region of Kepa Mountain: from Mlinca Mountain to the summit of Flevevnica (triangulation marker 1973), from Mlinca Mountain along the path beneath the summit of Bela Pec to the summit of Dovska Baba (triangulation marker 1891) and from the village Belca on the path which leads past elevation marker 903 and along the ridge at elevation marker 1717 and beyond to the summit of Kepa.

6. In areas of the border zone on the border with the Republic of Italy, the Republic of Austria and the People's Republic of Hungary citizens of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and foreign nationals are allowed to move and visit without a permit for movement and visit in the border zone--in the daytime throughout the entire year in the time from 1 hour before sunrise to 1 hour after sunset as follows:

a) in the portion of the border zone on the border with the Republic of Italy:

1) in the region of Kanin Mountain: from the highway that leads to Visoki Kanin (triangulation marker 2587) via the summit of Prestrelnik

(triangulation marker 2499) and Prevala pass to Lopa (stone boundary marker XIII) and from Visoki Kanin via Mali Kanin to the summit of Laska Planja--elevation marker 2422 (alpine tourist center--Bovec);

b) in areas of the border zone on the border with the Republic of Austria:

1) in the region of Koprivna on the highway leading toward stone boundary marker XXI/1 (elevation marker 1172) and from there to the houses: Sopar, Ledrovec, Kumer and Jekl;

2) in the region of Mezice--on the portion of highway from the Stenga-Mezice intersection northwest of triangulation marker 1199 (Pikov Vrh) on the new highway to the house Potocnik;

3) in the region of Lom--on the highway from the hamlet Rogelj to the house Vogel and on to the curve below the house Noversnik and triangulation marker 706;

4) in the region of Belsak--on the highway leading from the Kralj intersection to the settlement Belsak in the border zone to the stone boundary marker XVIII/102;

5) in the region of the village Libelica--on the highway leading from the village Libelica past triangulation marker 617 to the house Hrastnik southwest of the stone boundary marker XVII/72 (elevation marker 737);

6) in the region of Tribej--on the public highway from Dravograd to Libelica, from stone boundary marker XVI/127 to the house Renar;

c) in the portion of the border zone on the border with the People's Republic of Hungary:

1) in the Beli Manastir sector: between stone boundary markers D-214 and D-216 near the village Luc on the approach road and in the cemetery.

4. This directive shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUŽBENI LIST SFRJ.

Belgrade, 17 January 1980

Federal Secretary for  
Internal Affairs,  
Franjo Herljevic (signed)

7045

CSO: 2800

PROBLEMS OF NON-SLOVENIAN WORKERS IN SLOVENIA AIRED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1504, 4 Nov 79  
pp 6-8

[Article by Svetislav Spusojevic]

[Text] The Slovenian Bureau of Employment and the Republic Council of the Confederation of Trade Unions estimate that last year there were about 120,000 workers from other republics and provinces in Slovenia out of the total of approximately 750,000 employed people in this republic. It can be heard more frequently and openly that in spite of cordial aid, the workers from other regions of the country have been encountering many new specific problems.

If by chance the workers from other republic left Slovenia right now, many factory gates would be closed. In construction, in trash removal enterprises, hospitals, railroads, warehouses, steel mills and such, life would come to a halt: in those very places where heavy physical labor is needed.

The most highly-developed Yugoslav republic is well aware of all of this and, among other things, and in many ways, owes its prosperity to this veritable army of ready, valuable, ambitious and willing workers from other areas of Yugoslavia.

This is only a one-sided tale of the long migration of workers within Yugoslavia from the underdeveloped south to the developed north. In Slovenia, it can be heard more frequently and openly, that in spite of cordial aid, the workers from other republics and provinces have been encountering many problems. The problems have accumulated for years and have seldom been solved. The estimate that the Slovenian economy cannot exist without the "Southerners" is indisputably accurate. However, things are not so easy with them, for living people bring their own specific needs and problems into a new environment, and these cannot always be satisfied in a simple way.

The Executive Council of the Slovenian Assembly discussed one type of such difficulties at the end of the first week of this month. The subject was that of "managers who illegally employ workers from other republics in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia." Just a week later, talks were held at



the Ljubljana City Council on workers from other republics. They are a subject frequently encountered in newspaper columns and in radio and television broadcasts. Here, both the most responsible and the less responsible make more and more efforts to make working and living conditions easier for the workers from the South.

The Republic Bureau of Employment and the Republic Council of the Confederation of Trade Unions have estimated that last year, there were about 120,000 workers from other republics and provinces in Slovenia (a total of about 750,000 people are employed in Slovenia). In 1975 alone, about 20,000 "Southerners" as they are frequently called here, arrived in Slovenia. Regretfully, official data for this year is not yet available. We would be closer to the truth if we stated that any number between 120,000 and 150,000 people is approximately accurate. The fact that in the first half of the year, the employment plan was already exceeded, and that there are practically no unemployed in Slovenia indicates that there are considerably more than 120,000 workers from other republics.

This army is primarily formed by people by Bosnia-Hercegovina, followed by workers from Croatia and Serbia... Most of them are in Ljubljana, Celje, Maribor, Jesenice... In other words, they are in industrial centers.

Slovenia had already encountered excessive employment of workers from other republics in 1961. During the subsequent 10 years, the worker migration did not let up. It was especially interesting that during those same years, the number of Slovenians leaving to work abroad also increased. And so, as Silva Meznaric mentions in his well-known study, *IMIGRACIJA RADNIKA IZ DRUGIH JUGOSLOVENSKIH REPUBLIKA U SR SLOVENIJU* [The Immigration of Workers From Other Yugoslav Republics to Slovenia], at that time, 1961 to 1971, for the first time in its people's history, Slovenia turned from a negative migration society to a positive migration society. The migration from other Yugoslav republics was by far the most numerous component of this positive migration balance.

There have been no marked changes to date. More and more other people are filling the factory halls and Slovenia as a whole. There are no essential facts or even principles on the basis of which it would be possible to determine how to stop this influx of mainly unskilled manpower.

"The organizations of associated labor, whether economic or noneconomic, do not pay heed to specific plan and resolution guidelines. If the employment of new workers should continue at this rate, at the end of the year, the plan will be gravely violated. Employment has to be a component element of planning in the organizations of associated labor," said Pavel Gantar, the then secretary for labor of Slovenia, in June 1977, when we held a very long discussion with him on the workers from other republics. Even today, nothing can be added or taken away from it. It is a fact that these same words may be repeated in coming years.



But it is necessary to be honest: even at the present stage of its development, in spite of certain "higher" interests, the Slovenian economy will not and cannot renounce the service of cheap labor.

Workers from other republics were the subject which we discussed recently in Ljubljana, in detail and complete openness with Franc Setinc, secretary of the Secretariat of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia. "Not long ago here, we were looking for a solution as to how to help these people," stated Setinc. "There are people, managers, who conclude agreements with Slovenian enterprises, and employ workers from other republics in them. They are without pension and social security and other rights which derive from a working status. This is the grossest form of exploitation of a person. It is the truth that these workers themselves have no interest in their own rights, but only want more pay. However, this is no reason for not implementing these rights. However, the whole business cannot be solved through administrative measures, and we have decided to meet with the representatives of the republics and provinces from which people are coming to work in Slovenia, and we shall be searching for a solution together."

#### The Utter Limit

Along with the bad examples, Franc Setinc also mentioned enterprises, of which, according to his estimate, there are quite a few, which have, one way or another, solved this problem well.

"Speaking openly, we are employing too many workers. It is true that we are the most highly developed republic, but it is also true that we cannot provide sufficient good housing and schools... Tomaceve, for example, should have been eliminated long ago. This is the most unhealthy settlement on the periphery of Ljubljana in which workers from other republics are living. Gorenjska, for example, has no manpower, and is heading for expansion! It is necessary to convert to production with the use of more modern technology and an ever-increasing utilization of existing technology, and by employing new labor," adds Setinc. "We consider that when employment is concerned, this is the top limit. Why build new production lines, for example, in Kranj, where there is no labor? It is necessary to stimulate the Slovenian economy into open production lines in republics and provinces where there are unemployed workers. Normally, when we are talking about investments, these conditions have to be based exclusively on income relationships."

Setinc stated that the majority of the worker's from other republics are "on the fringe of social developments." The workers have to become accustomed to new living conditions in order to feel at home. Setinc emphasizes particularly that we are not speaking about assimilation but rather, that these workers, mainly for their own good, must adjust to the new living conditions. They adapt rapidly, but, unfortunately, very frequently in the wrong way.

"A social agreement on the employment of these workers exists. Its regulations must be abided by everybody from now on," adds Setinc. "For any enterprise to employ workers from other republics, it must fulfill certain conditions

beforehand. For example, it must provide them lodgings. It is not enough just to employ a worker and to consider that the problem is solved this way. This is the beginning of its concerns."

### The Reason Is Wages

Judging according to sociological and demographic projections, the influx of labor from other republics will not decrease. On the contrary: up to 1985, annual employment of from 8,000 to 9,000 workers from other republics is forecast. The level of unemployment in Slovenia is the lowest in Yugoslavia and among the lowest in Europe! In comparison with the very long lists of those from other republics and provinces who are job hunting, the situation in Slovenia, simply stated, is surprisingly bright.

Every year, Slovenia lacks about 4,000 intermediate school pupils! So those places behind the school desks are being filled by children from other republics. They are being provided free schooling, but in the literal meaning of this statement. All is being done to provide for sufficient workers.

Slovenians who are employed abroad are slow to return. The real reason is not work, because there are plenty of vacancies. The reason is, of course, earnings and, as it can be said, "cleaner" work.

When all of these reasons are summed up, it is clear that the extensive employment, mainly of workers from other republics, is not a past and present problem but a future problem of Slovenia. At official meetings where the future development of Slovenia has been discussed in greater detail, considerable time and space has been devoted to the employment itself. According to the current analysis of the possibilities of development during the new five-year plan, employment would have to be increased by only 2.4 percent! This rate is less than was previously planned, and especially lower than the rates fulfilled in the past. In Slovenia, two words are being spoken more and more frequently and openly: "The employment of the employed." This means the maximum utilization of existing capacities, which means greater effectiveness of employees. Extensive employment, in truth, leads to an increase in productivity, but also necessitates excessive liabilities.

Shanties in the willow grove on the very banks of the Sava. A bunch of unwashed brats run about between them along mud puddles. This settlement on the periphery of Ljubljana is called Tomachevo. Its residents are workers from other republics.

### Two Pictures

"I've been here for 10 years. I have a son, two daughters, and a husband," says Zeina Islamovic, who is employed in the Ljubljana Unitas. "I came from a village near Tuzla. My husband and I could not find any kind of work, so on the advice of some friends, we came here. We found work, but we remained here in Tomachevo. People don't like you when they hear where you are living. The children are ashamed to tell anyone at school where they live. I am also ashamed, but in spite of the greatest willingness, there is nothing that can be done here."

Manojlovic of Bijeljina is the party secretary at Kristal and at the Staklarstvo Basic Organization of Associated Labor. He can serve as an example that even all party secretaries are not able to get a place to live. Manojlovic and his wife live in a dilapidated old barracks in Tomacevo, which, if one really tried, could be set afire with a cigarette butt. Heating during these cold days would last a half hour at the most. He states that several years ago he almost built a house. When he was close to completion, the bulldozers came.

"They demolished it, and thus in 10 minutes, they destroyed everything that I had been taking out of my hide for 5 years. Fine, I would have reconciled myself to it if they gave me a suitable home, or credit... In order to keep my friends from knowing where I live, I asked my fellow worker, a Slovenian lady, who is chief accountant at my enterprise to register me at her address. I do not know how long this is going to last, but I will not be able to stand it very long," says Manojlovic. "Here in Tomacevo, there is no electricity, water, streets...Ljubljana is beautiful and clean; however, since I do not live there, it is as though I am in another world."

Gerica Jovanovic has been here for 15 years. Back in 1974, she buried her husband, Velimir, a worker of Metalka, at the neighboring cemetery in Zale. She says that she will never again return to Vrce Gaj near Bela Crkva. She frequently thinks of the Banat, she says, but she will remain here. Her son married a Slovenian woman. Fortunately, he left Tomacevo. She has remained in the barracks to wait for the housing that had been promised long ago to the late Velimir.

The settlement of Stepanjsko is located on the other edge of Ljubljana. Modern buildings, well-planned parks, schools, children's daycare centers... Here also, mainly workers from other republics are housed.

"I also have passed through Tomacevo. From a shanty, I have gotten myself into a comfortable two-room home in Stepanjsko. I do not intend to ever leave this place," says Radomir Ignjatovic. "My children are going to school and my wife is working. We make pretty good wages. We are unable to save anything, but then we live well. It wasn't that way in Tuzla. My wife couldn't get a job. I'm happy that my children have adjusted well. They speak Slovenian, so there is no difference between them and the children whose parents are Slovenes.

#### The Mother Tongue

All of these examples indicate that in Slovenia, all workers from other republics do not live in barracks. There are people who have found all the conditions for normal living. However, one must not forget that the others also exist. More harm than good is done to interpersonal relations by many newspaper texts and questionnaires, mainly of a random nature. In one questionnaire, for example, the reporter asked a young working girl who is hardly 16 what is her religion and if she goes to church! In another item published 10 days ago, as an illustration, use is made of a photograph of a room with a bed, a table, and one chair; under the picture is the inscription:

room with a bed, a table, and one chair; under the picture is the inscription: "For Many, This Is More than They Had at Home." This is not only harmful to these workers, but also creates an erroneous image of them. The truth is quite different. For many, the only advantage is the employment. The living conditions, the housing situation, the cultural circumstances, are beneath the standard of what they had at home.

In Slovenia, although there are several thousands of children whose parents are from other republics, there is only one school where teaching is conducted in Serbo-Croatian; the Prezihov Voranc School in Ljubljana.

"We have 395 pupils located in 18 divisions. This is the largest number in the school's existence. I believe that we will open a separate school. This is only a part of a Slovenian school," states Ljubomir Silojevic, assistant director for the part of the school in which subjects are taught in the Serbo-Croatian language. Children come here not only from Ljubljana, but also from Kranj, Skofja Loka, Kamnik...so as to learn in their own mother tongue. If they oblige us and enable us to have our own school, I think that the number of pupils will increase considerably."

Silojevic thinks that it is necessary for the children, especially during the first 8 years, to get their lessons in their mother tongue. During that time, they learn the Slovenian language regularly, and become prepared to fit into society.

Janez Svoljsak, professor of the Serbo-Croatian language at Jesenice, with whom we conversed on the occasion of earlier visits to Slovenia, is of the same mind. "It is incomprehensible to me that in a class where the surnames of 70 percent of the children have the Serbo-Croatian 'ic' endings, we devote just a couple of sentences to Negos or Mazuranic, for example. It is necessary to increase the number of hours for the Serbo-Croatian language or to open special divisions for children whose parents are from other republics," stated Svoljsak categorically.

The search for work by workers within the boundaries of Yugoslavia is only an insignificant part of the world migration from the undeveloped south to the developed north. There is nothing unusual about that. The answer to the larger question as to when this migration will cease, although not a complete answer, goes: when world capital, including the Yugoslav dinar, instead of people begins to migrate more rapidly in the opposite direction. And when will this happen? A series of the most curious questions arise one after another. When the condition for this are created. Thus, far in the distance.

In all of this, there is a part that encourages even the greatest pessimists. The hosts, the Slovenians, are extremely conscious of what it means to be "dodjos" for themselves or for every sixth employed person in Slovenia who has come from the south. Nothing falls on deaf ears. "We have to talk about everything right out in the open. This is the only way that we can approach one another more and more. It is difficult to leave one's home region, but

it is not easy to accept more than 120,000 workers and for all of them to be satisfied over it," noted Setinc. "However, there are decisions which one cannot go back on, no matter what the circumstances. I mean, above all, the social agreement and the part of the agreement which mentions providing certain conditions in order to be able to employ anyone. Everyone who is involved in this work must provide approximately the same living conditions. Varying living conditions inevitably lead to impatience. And you know where this will lead."

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